

TIME

A black silhouette of a person, likely a man, wearing a suit and tie. The silhouette is positioned in the center of the cover, facing right. The background is a solid blue color.

THE CLINTON WAY

They write their own rules.
Will it work this time?

BY DAVID VON DREHLE



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Photograph by Spencer Platt—Getty Images



Mourners in Moscow lay candles at the site where Russian opposition leader Boris Nemtsov was killed. Photograph by Yuri Kozyrev—Noor for TIME

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Conversation

What You Said About ...



JEB BUSH “Even though he’s a Bush, he’s working harder than anyone else running right now,” said Bloomberg’s Mark Halperin on MSNBC in a discussion of TIME’s March 16 cover story on Jeb’s place in his family legacy and his likely

White House run. While Jeb’s intellect and micro-managing style dominated some commentary—former Florida Congressman Joe Scarborough recalled the ex-governor’s reputation for being someone who always “knew more than anyone else in the room”—others were wary. John and Mary Cox of Charlotte, N.C., onetime residents of Florida, offered a “report card” for him: **“Secretive. Doesn’t play well with others. Won’t share the sandbox. Holds grudges. Not recommended for promotion to first grade.”** And many simply complained of fatigue. “After reading the excellent article ‘Next in Line,’ I must agree with Barbara Bush’s original 2013 statement,” wrote Harry Moskos of Knoxville, Tenn. “We’ve had enough Bushes.”

WEB WINNERS “There’s a fine line between reality and the Internet,” cautioned the blog NewsFix in a piece on our widely covered list of the 30 most influential people on the Internet, featuring personalities ranging from Kim Kardashian to transgender activist Janet Mock. Readers were not shy about expressing their opinions. Of amateur nutritionist Vani Hari (@thefoodbabe), who publicizes “unsafe” food ingredients, Marjorie Woodruff wrote, **“The Food Babe is a huckster and charlatan who peddles information which is ‘gut-based’ rather than ‘science-based.’ She is the Jenny McCarthy of nutrition.”** On Facebook, Toni Spring said, “It’s a sad day when Kim Kardashian is named one [of] the most influential people of anything.”

DIPLOMACY WITH IRAN Joe Klein’s column, about making a deal with Iran on nuclear-weapons development, drew fire from readers who disputed the

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notion that Iran could be trusted diplomatically. In particular, Klein’s comment that the country was “nowhere near the threat to American security that Sunni radicals like ISIS are” led Jim Montagnino of Saratoga Springs, N.Y., to call Klein “naive.” **“Iran is a major nation ruled by a fanatical theocracy and is on the verge of acquiring nuclear weapons along with the ICBMs to deliver them,”** he wrote. “This is a far greater threat to American security than ISIS, a stateless rabble temporarily filling a power vacuum.”

THE GOP AND MARRIAGE EQUALITY Zeke J. Miller’s TIME.com piece on 300 prominent Republicans, including former New York City mayor Rudy Giuliani and GOP megadonor David Koch, calling on the Supreme Court to recognize marriage equality nationally was covered in media outlets from NBC to *USA Today* and generated some animated commentary. **“Next, they’ll even start believing ... hurricanes aren’t caused by God’s wrath. Welcome to the 20th century, GOP!** You’ve almost caught up to the rest of us in the 21st!” wrote MementoMori on TIME.com. On Twitter, critic Frank Bruni lamented the absence of key GOP leaders on the list. “300+ veteran Repubs file pro-gay-marriage brief w/Supremes. But party’s prez candidates still not there.” And LOLGOP called the petition “the beginning of the ‘Uh, yeah, well, Republicans actually were always for same-sex marriage’ alibi.”

TALKING ABOUT MENTAL HEALTH Our story “Changing Your Mind,” on the Change Direction campaign—an effort to educate Americans about five key signs of emotional distress and how to recognize and discuss them—drew praise from the American Psychological Association. **“Simply put, everyone should be as aware of the signs of emotional distress as they are the signs of a stroke or a heart attack,”** wrote APA president Barry Anton and CEO Norman Anderson, adding that coverage of this effort “will help break down two major barriers to better mental health for many Americans: stigma and a lack of information.”

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

In “Hard Math in the New Economy” (March 16), we incorrectly reported the amount of annual economic activity Airbnb claims its service adds to the New York City economy. Airbnb’s estimate is \$768 million. In the same issue, a caption in “Next in Line” incorrectly located Jeb Bush in a photo of his high school tennis team. He was in the center.

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A park is a gift.

(Pass it on.)

PHOTO: DARCY KIEFEL

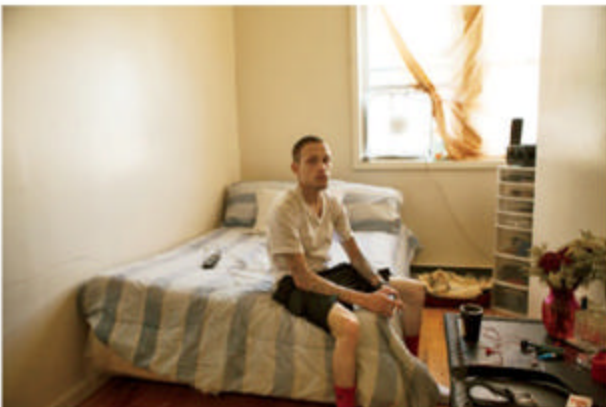
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GOOD OLD-FASHIONED FUN Thanks to MTV and *Girls Gone Wild*, spring break has become synonymous with out-of-control behavior. But in 1947, when LIFE accompanied 10,000 young people to Balboa Beach in Southern California, the antics (as shown above) were more about delight than debauchery. To see more, visit time.com/springbreak47.



AWARD-WINNING VIDEO On July 17, 2014, a 22-year-old resident of Staten Island, N.Y., named Ramsey Orta (above) recorded a fatal incident between Eric Garner and NYPD officers on his cell phone. When the video went viral, TIME's deputy director of photography, Paul Moakley, tracked down Orta and talked to him about the footage and its impact. This month Moakley's video won a World Press Photo Award, a top achievement for visual journalism. See it at time.com/ericgarner.

SPIRITUAL HEALER A former male model and horse breeder, Chris Ntombenhlophe Reid (below) is now one of the first white sangomas, or spiritual healers, among the Pondoland people in South Africa. German photojournalist Corinna Kern was given unprecedented access to tell his story. "The most eye-opening thing was the trainees and what they have to go through to become a sangoma," she recalls. "They can only sleep on the ground or on a thin mat." For more, visit time.com/sangoma.



NOW ON
TIME.COM

A former special agent for the FBI breaks down the ways counterintelligence skills can be applied to parenting. A sampling of the list at time.com/parents:

Create the illusion of control
Kids don't like to be told what to do, so give them a choice of two things equally satisfactory to you.

Follow the scarcity principle
Telling kids they can't do something increases interest in the taboo activity. Let them know you trust them.

Ask indirect questions
Replace "Have you been drinking?" with "My friend's son got caught drinking. What do you think his parents should do?"

Show empathy
Letting your kids know you get it is a powerful way to encourage more open communication.

AIRFRANCE



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Briefing

\$310,000

Amount of money raised for an Arizona father whose wife died while giving birth to quadruplets



'The decision to undercut our President and circumvent our constitutional system offends me as a matter of principle.'

VICE PRESIDENT JOE BIDEN, objecting to an open letter from 47 Republican Senators warning the leaders of Iran that the next President could undo "with the stroke of a pen" any agreement struck with the Obama Administration over Iran's nuclear program

Samantha Bee
The *Daily Show* correspondent scored her own show on TBS with husband Jason Jones



GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK



Bees

The removal of a swarm from a baseball game was called "mass bee genocide"

'You are disgraceful. You have violated all that we stand for.'

DAVID BOREN, University of Oklahoma president, before expelling two members of the school's chapter of the Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity for their involvement in a video depicting students chanting a racial slur



790

Number of Australians who simultaneously went skinny-dipping in Perth, a new world record



'Right now, I feel free ... from Pharrell Williams' and Robin Thicke's chains.'

NONA GAYE, daughter of the late singer Marvin Gaye, after a jury ordered the artists to pay the Gaye family \$7.4 million in a lawsuit that alleged that their 2013 hit song "Blurred Lines" infringed on the copyright of Gaye's 1977 hit "Got to Give It Up"

'We will have to go back to the drawing board.'

LIOW TIONG LAI, Malaysian Transport Minister, saying the countries leading the search for Malaysia Airlines Flight 370, which vanished a year ago, will need a new approach if it's not found by June



60

Pounds of gold (27 kg) a North Korean diplomat was caught with at a Bangladesh airport, worth some \$1.4 million

'The server will remain private.'



HILLARY CLINTON, likely presidential candidate, defending her decision not to turn over "personal" emails to the State Department, after a controversy surrounding her use of a private email server while she was Secretary of State





Briefing

LightBox

Marching On

Fifty years after “Bloody Sunday”—the landmark civil rights protest that saw demonstrators attacked by state police as they walked across Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Ala.—thousands gathered to retrace the march. Among them were President Obama and his family as well as original marchers Congressman John Lewis and Amelia Boynton Robinson. “The march is not yet over,” Obama said during the March 7 event. “The race is not yet won.”

Photograph by Doug Mills—The New York Times/Redux

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World

Netanyahu Holds Breath as Israel Goes to the Polls

BY KARL VICK

Israeli voters will cast their ballots on March 17 in a parliamentary election that doubles as a referendum on three-term Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. It's close: most polls show Netanyahu's right-wing Likud party running just behind the Zionist Union, a hybrid of the center-left Labor and the centrist Hatnua party run by Tzipi Livni, who was Justice Minister under Netanyahu until December. But what will victory look like? Neither major party is polling more than 25

seats in a Knesset that holds 120, which means that election day might be just the starting point for weeks of bargaining to assemble a majority coalition. The question is who gets to build it.

In close elections, it's not always the party with the most votes. In 2009, Netanyahu crafted a majority and sealed a second term as Prime Minister even after Likud finished in second place. The key is being able to gather like-minded parties, an easier task for Netanyahu in recent years, given Israel's rightward drift. But the incumbent, who called for early elections in December after collapsing his centrist coalition, has run a lackluster campaign, talking nonstop in Israel, as he did in the U.S. Congress

on March 3, about the danger of a nuclear Iran. Most voters are more preoccupied with the economy, especially high housing costs and rising income inequality. Those issues nearly cost Netanyahu the 2013 election, when centrist voters surged to the newly formed Yesh Atid party. The electorate seems just as volatile now, says Reuven Hazan, a political scientist at Hebrew University. "I would venture to say if Netanyahu could go back 90 days, he would think twice about calling this election."

If Netanyahu wins a fourth term, security wreathed in nationalism would likely remain his signature issue. Emphasizing the rise of Islamist extremists on Israel's borders, his campaign declared that talks with the Palestinians would be pointless, vowing "no concessions or withdrawals; they are simply irrelevant." In a television ad featuring a Monopoly game, Netanyahu piles houses and hotels on Jerusalem, the city Palestinians also claim as their capital. "Forget it," he says. "Jerusalem stays ours. Forever."

Should the Zionist Union attract enough support to form a center-left coalition, the premiership would rotate between Livni and Labor Party chair Isaac Herzog; the two agreed to share the job as Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Shamir did from 1984 to '88. The party has pledged to resume talks with the Palestinians, but its platform prioritizes solutions to rising costs of living in Israel. The unknown quantity is Herzog, a son of Israel's sixth President, who has failed to leave a strong impression on voters during the campaign. Still, his skill as a backroom operator might be useful if voters decide someone other than Netanyahu should be given a chance to form a government, even one unlikely to exist any longer than the last one.

"The only thing that is clear," says Hazan, "is that the largest party is going to be somewhere in the vicinity of 20% of the seats, and that is a recipe for instability."



Workers hang a campaign poster showing Netanyahu

BRAZIL

'Stiffer penalties will be applied to this heinous crime.'

PRESIDENT DILMA ROUSSEFF, announcing on March 8, International Women's Day, strict new punishments for the killing of women and girls in a country where an average of 15 women are killed every day; the femicide law sets out sentences of up to 30 years for murder linked to domestic violence



DATA

DANGER ZONES FOR DISEASE

Save the Children ranked 72 developing countries by the strength of their health systems and found that many fell below the nations worst hit by Ebola. Here are the five most vulnerable:



1

Somalia



2

Chad



3

Nigeria



4

Afghanistan



5

Haiti



Excessive Force

BURMA Police strike a protester during a crackdown on student demonstrators on March 10 after a weeklong standoff in the town of Letpadan, about 90 miles (145 km) north of Rangoon. Students and their supporters were protesting a new education law introduced by the postjunta government that they say stifles academic freedom. Police arrested more than 120 people, including 65 students, and chanted "Victory!" afterward. *Photograph by Soe Zeya Tun—Reuters*

THE EXPLAINER

The High Cost of Living in Venezuela

In recession-stricken Venezuela, where inflation runs at 68%, extreme shortages of imported goods have combined with stifling currency controls to drive the official price of everyday household items into the stratosphere.

The Official Rate

The government controls the prices for imported essentials like food and medicine using an official exchange rate of 6.3 bolivares to \$1. At this rate, the minimum wage is approximately \$890 a month.

The Black Market

To buy most other goods, locals without dollars rely on the currency black market, where around 250 bolivares will buy you \$1. That same minimum wage is a paltry \$22 a month on this market, roughly equal to minimum pay in Ethiopia.

The Result

The disconnect means many products are out of reach for ordinary Venezuelans. An iPhone 5, available at online retailer MercadoLibre for 88,999 bolivares, costs \$14,127 at the official rate (or \$356 in black-market dollars).



\$14,127

An unopened iPhone 5



\$316

A bag of dog food



\$190

A jar of instant coffee



SYRIA

83%

Share of the lights in Syria that have gone out since the civil war began four years ago this month, according to new satellite data

Trending In



TRANSPORTATION

A solar-powered airplane landed in India on March 10, completing the second leg of its bid to become the first aircraft to circle the world by solar energy alone. Solar Impulse 2, which launched in Abu Dhabi, will make 12 stops on its 22,000-mile (35,000 km) journey.



PROBES

French prosecutors are investigating a helicopter collision in Argentina that killed two Argentine pilots and eight French citizens on March 9, including sailor Florence Arthaud and two French Olympians. The collision came during filming for a reality-TV show in a remote part of the country.

SPORTS

The New York Cosmos will play Cuba's national soccer team in Havana on June 2, the first time in 16 years that a professional U.S. sports team will play on the island. The U.S. and Cuba announced plans in December to restore diplomatic relations.





Credit Crunch Congress and Obama weaken the U.S. by playing politics abroad

By Ian Bremmer

THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION AND NEGOTIATORS from Britain, France, Germany, Russia and China are pushing for an agreement with Iran that would freeze the Islamic Republic's nuclear program. On March 9, 47 Republican Senators sent an open letter to Iran's leaders to warn them that the U.S. Congress had the power to rip up any deal signed with the Obama Administration. It was a clear bid to undermine the President's credibility before any agreement could be signed.

Some of these lawmakers probably believed that urgent steps were needed to prevent a bad deal that would threaten U.S. national security. Others may simply have wanted to score political points off a President they and their constituents dislike. It's doubtful that this letter will kill a deal that remains improbable for a host of other reasons. Obama can likely bypass the Senate by submitting any pact as an executive agreement, not a formal treaty. But there's more to it. This move undermines the credibility of future Presidents, Democrats and Republicans, by raising fears abroad that America's political polarization means no one is empowered to negotiate in good faith on behalf of the U.S. government.

The White House complained about the Republican letter, but the risk cuts both ways. The President has used Congress in the past in ways that have directly undercut U.S. credibility. In August 2012, Obama warned Syria's Bashar Assad that the use of chemical weapons against his country's rebels would cross a red line that would "change my calculus" on the use of American force in Syria. Several months later, Assad used these weapons. His bluff called—the President had shown little appetite for intervening in Syria—Obama argued that a military response was warranted but that Congress should vote to approve any air strikes.

This was disingenuous—Obama has ordered military action without congressional approval multiple times. When it



Interventionists The letter to the leaders of Iran was signed by all but seven of the Republicans in the Senate

appeared that Congress might not provide the authorization Obama sought, the President asked for a delay, then signed on to a Russian plan in which Assad agreed to dismantle his arsenal if Washington held its fire. Assad crossed the President's red line, and Obama turned to Congress for political cover that lawmakers refused to provide. U.S. credibility sustained lasting damage.

A successful superpower foreign policy depends on more than just superior force and the willingness to use it. It demands deep reserves of credibility, the primary currency of power politics. If Washington asks a foreign government to compromise or to accept new costs and risks, leaders of that government must have confidence that the President can and will keep his promises. If the President's representatives negotiate a deal, everyone at the table must know that Washington will keep up its end.

The Constitution is clear: the President sets foreign policy. Congress provides "advice and consent" for the ratification of treaties. Lawmakers should not undermine the President's proper authority, but neither should the President cede that authority for temporary political advantage. The President and Congress score points off each other every day, but if their gamesmanship undermines Washington's credibility, the national interest will suffer.

This trend is all the more dangerous at a time when other governments know well that the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have sapped support for any long-term commitment of U.S. troops. That sharply reduces American negotiating leverage before the talking even begins.

With fewer means at Washington's disposal to get the outcomes it wants, credibility is a resource that no U.S. elected official can afford to squander. ■

Foreign-affairs columnist Bremmer is the president of Eurasia Group, a political-risk consultancy

11th March 2015

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Run Simple

Vitals



Lei Jun China's phone king

Far from a household name in the U.S., Xiaomi is China's top smartphone maker, valued at \$46 billion. This month, its ambitious CEO, Lei Jun, told an audience at the National People's Congress in Beijing that the firm's sales would grow more than 50%, to \$16 billion, this year.

► CLAIMS TO FAME

Lei is known in China as a startup wizard who sold online bookstore Joyo.com to Amazon for \$75 million in 2004 and took software giant Kingsoft public in 2007. He founded Xiaomi in 2010 to cater to an emerging class of Chinese consumers who want technology but cannot yet afford top-of-the-line gear.

► CURRENT CHALLENGES

Former Googler Hugo Barra was hired in 2013 to lead Xiaomi's international expansion. That is proving more difficult than anticipated, and the firm has trimmed its

ambitions, focusing on five new markets, including India, rather than 10.

► BIGGEST CHAMPION

Russian billionaire Yuri Milner, who seeded Facebook and Alibaba among others, participated in the \$1.1 billion financing round late last year that pegged Xiaomi's worth at \$46 billion, making it the world's most valuable privately funded startup. Milner believes the company will be worth \$100 billion before it goes public.

► BIGGEST OBSTACLE

In Xiaomi's early days, Lei welcomed the sobriquet "the Steve Jobs of China," donning jeans and dark shirts to mimic the legendary American executive's

style. But as the company has grown and sought to branch into connected televisions and health gadgets, the label has started to chafe; Lei now bristles at the comparison.

► CAN HE DO IT?

Yes. Unlike some other Asian manufacturers that only pump out feature-heavy gizmos with slim margins, Xiaomi has been more sophisticated in its appeal to customers. It incorporates users' design and feature ideas into weekly updates of its operating system to keep them hooked. More than massive sales, Lei's ambition is to create a Chinese brand the world will come to know and, he hopes, love. —MATT VELLA

VITAL STATS

45

Lei's age

\$13.3B

Estimated net worth, according to *Forbes*

61M

Number of smartphones sold in 2014

\$46B

Xiaomi's current valuation

Business



Making Good, Plus a Profit A new type of company lures activist entrepreneurs

BY BILL SAPORITO

OREGON'S A TO Z WINEWORKS BECAME A B in 2014. That's B as in B Corp, short for "benefit corporation." It's a fast-growing business structure that reorders the traditional hierarchy, which dictates that investor returns must come first. In B corporations, profits still matter, but employees, suppliers, the community and the environment can be on equal footing with owners or shareholders. "We believe that at every level, everybody has to win," explains A to Z president Amy Prosenjak, whose company makes what she calls "aristocratic wine at democratic prices." (That means about \$20 a bottle for A to Z's celebrated Willamette Valley pinot noir.)

For A to Z, being a B means that the grape growers it contracts with are guaranteed fair prices in good years and bad and that its distributors aren't squeezed for every last penny. Employees are paid 43% over the local living wage, and the business is run on a sustainable basis. And yes, A to Z is profitable; this year it will produce 365,000 cases of wine.

B Corp companies represent a genre of capitalism whose mission includes attacking social and environmental problems. "Consumers, investors, entrepreneurs

and policymakers have recognized that business is the most powerful man-made force on the planet and it can be used as a powerful force for good," argues Jay Coen Gilbert, a former sneaker entrepreneur and a co-founder of B Lab, a nonprofit that certifies benefit corporations. "It can marshal talent and resources at scale and with speed unlike other sectors."

Unlike the better-known S corporation, B Corp firms aren't structured for a particular type of tax treatment; instead, the label is more analogous to a food producer's organic certification. While the idea of socially focused companies certainly isn't new—think Ben & Jerry's and Patagonia—the fact that there's now a legal structure backing the concept makes it more attractive. There are more than 1,200 certified B Corp entities, the majority in the U.S. They are regulated in 26 states, the latest being New Hampshire and Delaware. The blessing of Delaware, the legal home of many large U.S. corporations, is the most vital endorsement yet for making benefit corporations mainstream. Legislation is pending in 10 other states. Members range from large outfits such as Plum Organics (baby food) and Method

(cleaning products) to utility Green Mountain Power of Vermont.

An electric utility? Yes, because the company, a wholly owned subsidiary of Canada's Gaz Métro, generates most of its power with renewable energy such as hydroelectric and wind power. Green Mountain gets no credit for the 38% of its power generated by nuclear and fossil fuels. But it ticks other boxes: it pays more than 25% above the living wage and covers 80% of employee health care premiums. In a male-dominated industry, more than 25% of its managers are women or minorities. Workers also get paid hours to do volunteer work in their communities.

B Corp owners say their status is a competitive edge. "We're really after a niche," says Deb Hatcher, a co-founder and the head of marketing and sales at A to Z. "After *Sideways* [a film that romanticized pinot noir], it's become quite a crowded field. We see ourselves as leaders. We want to model best practices." A to Z believes, for instance, that if it can train its grape suppliers to become sustainable growers, it will improve their soil, the environment will benefit, and the company will get higher-quality fruit.

But becoming a B Lab—certified benefit corporation isn't simple. Companies seeking the status must undergo annual audits for B-worthiness in areas like governance, employment practices, community performance and environmental stewardship, measured on a 200-point scale. A to Z scored high on community performance and environment, less high on governance. Companies must score a minimum of 80 to qualify. This can further complicate the process and costs of starting and running a small firm.

Still, entrepreneurs say B status is about more than how they market themselves. It keeps them honest. Consider Biomimicry 3.8, which helps FORTUNE 500 companies create products based on nature's designs—for instance, a carpet tile with a pattern that mimics the forest floor, making the replacement of worn tiles unnoticeable. Managing director Nicole Hagerman Miller says undertaking the annual B Corp audit keeps her company on mission. "It does hold us true to this commitment. It helps us go further, even though we feel we're progressive." ■



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Milestones



Egan at St. Patrick's Cathedral in 2000

DIED

Cardinal Edward Egan

Archbishop emeritus of New York

Roman Catholic Cardinal Edward Egan once said he did not like eulogies. But after the retired ninth Archbishop of New York died of cardiac arrest on March 5 at 82, thousands packed St. Patrick's Cathedral to celebrate the life of this scholar of canon law who loved music and helped carry the city through the dark days following Sept. 11, 2001.

The day the towers fell, Egan gave last rites to victims, his gold Cardinal's ring over his blue rubber gloves. Not all his moves were popular—he closed parishes to help eliminate the diocese's multimillion-dollar debt and faced criticism for how he handled allegations of clergy sexual abuse—but as his successor, Cardinal Timothy Dolan, says, “He constantly asked, ‘Is it good for the people? Will it help lead them to Jesus? Will it build up the faith?’”

Archbishop Demetrios of America, the leader of the Greek Orthodox Church in America, who often worked alongside Cardinal Egan, says he will remember him as “a kind and gentle church leader always focusing on serving his people in the best way and connecting them with God.”

—ELIZABETH DIAS

MARKED

By President Obama and more than 100 members of Congress, the 50th anniversary of the “Bloody Sunday” march out of **Selma, Ala.** Tens of thousands walked across the bridge that was the scene of one of the most iconic moments of the civil rights movement.

SUED

By the parent company of Wikipedia and other groups, the **National Security Agency** and the Department of Justice. The groups say an NSA mass-surveillance program violates the Constitution.

DIED

Blogger **Lisa Bonchek Adams**, 45, who built a devoted readership through frequent, heartfelt tweets and posts about her struggle with breast cancer.

DIED

Documentarian **Albert Maysles**, 88. Alongside his brother, he made *Gimme Shelter*, about the Rolling Stones, and *Grey Gardens*, about eccentric relatives of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis.

DIED

Journalist **Claude Sitton**, 89, who covered the civil rights movement in the 1950s and '60s and later won a Pulitzer Prize for commentary.

DISCOVERED

How **chameleons** change their color. Researchers found that pigment cells expand and contract around crystals to reflect different levels of light.

DIED

Sam Simon

Co-creator of *The Simpsons*

By Al Jean

Sam Simon loved Muhammad Ali. I don't know for sure that they ever even met, but he admired Ali for being a rebel, brilliant and above all hilarious, which were all qualities that described Sam. Simon, the *Simpsons* co-creator who died March 8 at 59, started a facility for abandoned dogs that anyone would feel loved in. He was a writer who saw three moves ahead of other writers, pitching concepts and jokes that would prove incredibly fruitful and timeless.

Perhaps the most amazing thing about Sam was all the amazing things you could say about Sam. As a boy, Elvis Presley returned his lost dog to him. And he was instrumental in launching a television show that is still going, 26 years and more than 560 episodes later.


Sam was always as funny as anyone in the room. And perhaps most amazing, the last year of his life, when he was in incredible pain, was also filled with incredible good deeds and was, according to him, his favorite year.

Farewell to a man who was already larger than life.

Jean is an executive producer of The Simpsons

Simon with a Simpson in 1990





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ITS OWN ARTISTRY.**



The American Century Isn't Over

China won't end U.S. dominance—but political gridlock and isolationism could

AS HARVARD POLITICAL scientist Joseph Nye takes a seat, he glances at the portrait that looms over the conference room. “There he is,” says Nye. “He” is Henry Luce, the founder of *TIME* and *LIFE* magazines. (Hence the portrait—we’re at *TIME*’s offices.) In a 1941 editorial in *LIFE*, Luce urged the U.S. to enter World War II to defend democratic values and “create the first great American century.”

That term became shorthand for the period of U.S. geopolitical dominance that began around the end of the war. But from the moment the American century was born, Americans have fretted over threats to the country’s preeminence. In the 1950s the Soviet Union seemed poised to bury the U.S.; in the 1980s the Japanese were going to outwork lazy Americans.

Today a rising China is the great rival. A 2013 Pew poll of 39 countries found that most people believed China already was or would eventually become the world’s leading superpower—and that included nearly half of Americans.

To which Nye says: Not so fast. A pioneer in the theory of soft power and the dean of American political scientists, Nye knows geopolitics. In his new book, *Is the American Century Over?*, Nye makes a strong case that American geopolitical superiority, far from being eclipsed, is still firmly in place and set to endure. And the biggest threat isn’t China or India

or Russia—it’s America itself.

It’s easy to forget what a global behemoth the U.S. remains today. Take military power: the U.S. not only spends four times more on defense than the No. 2 country, China, but it also spends more than the next eight countries combined. The U.S. Navy controls the seas, and the country’s military has troops on every inhabited continent.

GDP. By 1970 that share had fallen to about one-quarter, but as Nye points out, that was less a matter of American decline than a global return to normality. Nearly half of the top 500 international companies are owned by U.S. citizens, and 19 of the top 25 global brands are American.

But the most important reason the U.S. will continue to dominate is the lack of a vi-

the U.S. unique—an openness toward immigrants. “As Lee Kuan Yew once told me,” Nye says, referring to the founding father of modern Singapore, “‘China can draw on a talent pool of 1.3 billion people, but the U.S. can draw on the world’s 7 billion.’”

It’s the potential loss of that openness that worries Nye. Should the U.S. decide to shut its borders or turn its back on international affairs—two recurring impulses in U.S. history—all bets are off. If political gridlock becomes permanent or income inequality keeps rising, that too could threaten American supremacy. “The question is whether we’ll keep living up to our potential,” says Nye.

He bets yes—and believes that on the whole, that’s a good thing for the world. A strong U.S. has helped keep tensions in check in East Asia and has worked to integrate a rising China into the existing international system. In July a NASA probe will visit Pluto for the first time ever, and our exploration of the solar system—led from start to finish by the U.S.—will be complete.

America is far from flawless: the invasion of Iraq and intransigence on climate change stand out as two major mistakes. But it’s difficult to imagine that the world would be a better place if Vladimir Putin’s Russia or Xi Jinping’s China were running things. “I believe this is a different country,” says Nye. Henry Luce couldn’t have said it better. ■



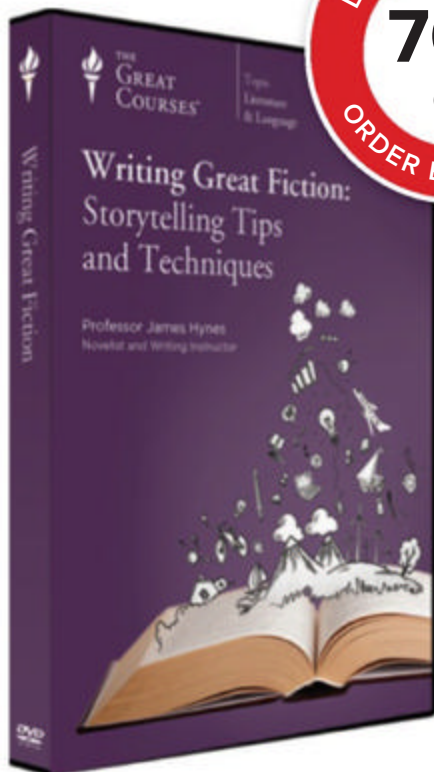
On top U.S. victory in World War II set the stage for dominance

America’s armed forces have become more dominant since the dawn of Luce’s American century—not less. For nearly 50 years after World War II, U.S. power was checked by the Soviet Union. No longer.

The relative decline of American economic clout might seem obvious. By one measurement, China has already passed the U.S. to become the world’s largest economy. But that’s in part a trick of perspective. In 1945, thanks largely to the devastation of World War II, the U.S. produced nearly half the world’s

able rival. Nye dismisses each in turn: the European Union is too fractured, Japan is too old, Russia is too corrupt, India is too poor, Brazil is too unproductive.

As for China, Nye expects that as the country keeps growing, it will take up more space on the international stage. But Beijing faces major internal challenges that could derail its rise: a polluted environment, an aging population and inefficient state-owned industries. More important, China conspicuously lacks the ingredient that has made



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Quiet down

The Clintons hush the crowd at Bill's 2007 induction into the Voting Rights Hall of Fame



NATION

THE CLINTON WAY

They write their own rules.
Will it work this time?

By David Von Drehle

AS A RULE, THESE ARE WORDS NO politician wants to be speaking in the days leading up to the launch of a major campaign:

“What I did was to direct, you know, my counsel to conduct a thorough investigation...”

“I fully complied with every rule that I was governed by.”

“They were personal and private, about matters that I believed were in the scope of my personal privacy.”

As a rule, a candidate wants to take flight on outstretched wings of hope, not scramble in the dirt on the crabbed limbs of legal compliance. Every day spent saying “Trust me, my lawyer’s O.K. with it” is a bad day—and worse if she appears to be reading from lawyer-vetted notes.

As a rule, these would be dire, perhaps fatal, markers of a campaign crashing on takeoff. But in this case the politician was Hillary Clinton, whose carefully laid plans to unveil her latest presidential bid hit turbulence on March 10 as she fumbled her way through an awkward press conference in a corridor at the U.N. At issue: Clinton’s decision to ignore White House guidance as Secretary of State and instead conduct government business through a private email account hosted on her family’s personal server.

The Clintons play by their own set of rules. And in this case, the former Secretary of State explained, those rules bless her decision to erase some 30,000 emails from the family server despite knowing that the emails had become a subject of intense interest to congressional investigators. These were merely “private personal emails,” Clinton averred, “emails about planning Chelsea’s wedding or my mother’s funeral arrangements, condolence notes to friends as well as yoga routines, family vacations, the other things you typically find in inboxes.” After she finished taking questions, Clinton’s staff disclosed that no one actually read through those 30,000-odd documents before she “chose not to keep” them.

Representative Trey Gowdy of South Carolina, the Republican who is leading a congressional select committee to investigate the 2012 attack on the U.S.’s diplomatic outpost in Libya, fumed that “regrettably we are left with more questions than answers.” He announced plans to haul Clinton in front of his committee twice: once to be grilled about her email and again to be interrogated anew on Benghazi.

Off message? Definitely. Clinton’s script for the month of March envisioned a series of events highlighting her long ca-

reer as an advocate for the rights of women and girls. This was to culminate in her official announcement—perhaps as soon as early April—that she was again running to be America’s first female President. But if awkward press conferences could bring down a Clinton, the political supercouple might never have left Little Rock.

Along with her husband—the 42nd President of the United States—Hillary Clinton is the co-creator of a soap-operatic political universe in which documents vanish, words like *is* take on multiple meanings and foes almost always overplay their hand. Impeachment can be a route to higher approval ratings; the occasional (and rare) defeat merely marks the start of the next campaign. Whatever rules may apply to them, the law of gravity is not one.

Still, Clinton’s failure to defuse the email issue, along with a growing list of questions about the family’s relentless fundraising and her husband’s choice of companions, has revived hopes among erstwhile rivals in the Democratic Party that the Hillary dreadnought might actually be sinkable. Backbiting inside the Clinton campaign—a hallmark of her failed 2008 presidential effort—has begun to leak into the political press. Republicans who were morose over their

A Brief History of Clintons on the Defensive



JAN. 26, 1992

During Bill’s first presidential campaign, Hillary went on *60 Minutes* to respond to claims of her husband’s infidelity, saying, “I’m not sitting here, some little woman standing by my man like Tammy Wynette.”



APRIL 22, 1994

In a conciliatory press conference in the State Dining Room, the then First Lady spoke about her role in the failed Whitewater land deal and her commodity trading.

presidential chances mere months ago have a spring in their step.

Trust Me

THE STORY OF THE CLINTON RULE BOOK IS a long and Gothic yarn, with its roots in the loam of human nature: lust, money, ambition, idealism. The mix of those last two—ambition and idealism—put the young Bill and Hillary Clinton on the path of politics a half-century ago. The first two—lust and money—posed significant obstacles in their way.

It's news to no one who lived through the late 1990s that Bill Clinton can be sexually reckless. But for a politician who grew up in the years of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, when sexual recklessness was the presidential norm, only to find himself in the chastened age of Gary Hart, Clinton's lifestyle required that he and his wife become good secret keepers.

Likewise, it's news to no one at all that winning public office costs far more money than the job will ever pay in salary. Because the Clintons did not have wealth of their own to fund their ambitions, they had to become adept at coaxing it from others. Indeed, they may be the most adept in American history, having coaxed billions of dollars from a multitude of donors—which requires a degree of flex-

ibility in one's choice of benefactors. As the saying goes: Beggars can't be choosers.

So the twin drivers of the Clinton soap opera have been their penchant for secrecy and their menagerie of rich associates. The drumbeat of scandals, real and puffed up, that marked Bill Clinton's presidency involved one or both elements. For example, Filegate, Troopergate and the Paula Jones lawsuit that led to Clinton's impeachment all had to do with secrets. Overnight stays in the Lincoln Bedroom for megadonors and the controversial last-minute pardon for the fugitive financier Marc Rich had to do with money.

Fast-forward to now. Having weathered all those real and imagined scandals through a mixture of insouciance, indignation, stonewalling and counterattack—only to see their popularity rise as a result—the Clintons have little reason to change their MO now. Even the whirlwind campaign of Barack Obama, who upset Hillary's 2008 presidential bid by promising a fresh tomorrow instead of a return to yesteryear, was not enough to make the Clintons tear up their rule book.

In her press conference, Hillary Clinton described the private email account on the server inside their New York

home as a matter of convenience only. "I thought it would be easier to carry just one device for my work and for my personal emails instead of two," she said. "Looking back, it would've been better if I'd simply used a second email account and carried a second phone, but at the time, this didn't seem like an issue."

That explanation was not exactly robust. The Q&A had hardly ended before Clinton's critics unearthed an interview Hillary had given a few weeks earlier with Re/code co-founder Kara Swisher. "I have an iPad, a mini iPad, an iPhone and a BlackBerry," Clinton said. So much for simplicity. Others remarked on a matter of timing: Clinton did not carry out her business on an existing personal email account. She specifically set up a new private address—hdr22@clintonemail.com—instead of using a government account. This happened on the very day the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held its first hearing on her nomination as Secretary of State.

As for why this might "seem like an issue," the answer is not complicated. All federal employees have a legal obligation to preserve their work-related email—and the White House advises appointees to accomplish this by using official government addresses. Email sent to and from



JAN. 26, 1996

"It's been a long day," Hillary said after testifying for more than four hours before a federal grand jury investigating Whitewater.



JAN. 4, 1998

The first couple danced together on a beach in the Virgin Islands shortly before Bill gave a deposition in a civil sexual-harassment lawsuit brought by Paula Jones.

.gov accounts is generally archived. In this way, a consistent level of security is maintained. The nation's history is preserved. Open-records laws are honored. And transparency gets a leg up on "Trust me."

All this once made sense to Clinton. As a candidate for President in 2008, she included "secret White House email accounts" as part of her critique of the Bush Administration's "stunning record of secrecy and corruption." Now, however, Clinton is leaning heavily on "Trust me." For more than a year after she left office in 2013, she did not transfer work-related email from her private account to the State Department. She commissioned a review of the 62,320 messages in her account only after the department—spurred by the congressional investigation—asked her to do so. And this review did not involve opening and reading each email; instead, Clinton's lawyers created a list of names and keywords related to her work and searched for those. Slightly more than half the total cache—31,830 emails—did not contain any of the search terms, according to Clinton's staff, so they were deemed to be "private, personal records."

This strikes experts as a haphazard way of analyzing documents. Jason R. Baron, a former lawyer at the National Archives and Records Administration who is now an attorney in the Washington office of Drinker, Biddle & Reath,

says, "I would question why lawyers for Secretary Clinton would use keyword searching, a method known to be fraught with limitations, to determine which of the emails with a non-.gov address pertained to government business. Any and all State Department activities—not just communications involving the keywords *Benghazi* or *Libya*—would potentially make an email a federal record. Given the high stakes involved, I would have imagined staff could have simply conducted a manual review of every document. Using keywords as a shortcut unfortunately leaves the process open to being second-guessed."

Money and Influence

SOME OF THAT SECOND-GUESSING WILL focus on the family charity now known as the Bill, Hillary & Chelsea Clinton Foundation, which has raised an estimated \$2 billion for such causes as HIV/AIDS treatment in Africa and the fight against climate change in the years since President Clinton left office. The risk that foreign governments and superrich foreign citizens might donate to the foundation as a way of currying favor with the Secretary of State worried both Democrats and Republicans on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee when Hillary Clinton was first named Obama's top diplomat. And while the White House forced

the foundation to sign a point-by-point agreement in 2008 about what it could and could not do while Hillary Clinton ran the State Department, there really is no separating the globe-trotting Clintons from the heady atmosphere of money and influence.

Among the questions she skirted at her U.N. press conference was one from NBC's Andrea Mitchell. Given Clinton's record on women's rights, Mitchell asked, was she uncomfortable about donations to the foundation from, say, Saudi Arabia, where oppression of women is a matter of law? Mitchell could have gone further if given more time. Recent news reports have documented tens of millions of dollars in donations from foreign governments, including such incubators of Islamic extremism as Qatar and Algeria. One accounting, by the *Wall Street Journal*, totaled nearly \$50 million in foreign donations—not during Clinton's term as Secretary of State, but before she took office and again after she stepped down.

"I'm very proud of the hundreds of thousands of people who support the work of the foundation and the results that have been achieved for people here at home and around the world," Clinton answered Mitchell. But that is not entirely the point. After the foundation collects those millions, it partners with other charities, governments and companies—



JAN. 27, 1998

Speaking with NBC's Matt Lauer on the allegations regarding Monica Lewinsky's relationship with Bill, Hillary cited a "vast right-wing conspiracy" to undermine them.



AUG. 18, 1998

The Clintons, with daughter Chelsea and dog Buddy, walk to a helicopter on their way to a vacation on Martha's Vineyard just weeks before the release of the Starr report detailing Bill's affair with Lewinsky.

thus winning and potentially enriching more friends. The *New York Times* documented one example: Bill Clinton used his entrée in 2005 to connect a major foundation donor, Canadian mining billionaire Frank Giustra, with the leader of Kazakhstan. Two days later, Giustra signed a preliminary deal to mine uranium in Kazakhstan.

And Still They Rise

HILLARY AND BILL CLINTON HAVE ALWAYS been a team—and never more than when the chips are down. That doesn't mean they are interchangeable, though. As she once put it to a diary-keeping friend: "He can make things happen. And anyway what I really love is policy ... I'd be happy in a little office somewhere thinking up policies."

This streak of introversion makes her fiercely protective of her privacy, even to the point that it causes her trouble. She laughs and grieves behind closed doors among a tiny group of trusted friends, while in public—as her political consultant Mandy Grunwald once noted in a 1999 memo that became public record—she must work to be "real" in public settings. As First Lady, she would sometimes slip out of the White House in disguise, just to get away, walking in dark glasses up Connecticut Avenue to the zoo, accompanied by a lone Secret Service agent.

The extroverted Bill still hungers for an audience; his postpresidential life has been a moveable feast of movie stars and moguls, playboys and potentates. If some of his associates are less than seemly—like the billionaire Stewart Rahr, who reportedly emailed his friends a sexually explicit video he shot of three women in the back of a limousine—they are testament to the ever expanding universe known as Friends of Bill.

Is there—or was there—an email somewhere amid the yoga routines and vacation plans that might have shed an unflattering light on the shadowed places where the sundry parts of the Clintons' lives converge: yin and yang, official and unofficial? Hillary Clinton, in pursuit of privacy, has drawn a shade over that question. History suggests that she will not willingly back down.

Though members of Congress are calling for her to turn over the email server for forensic examination, they would be wise to proceed cautiously. A key page in the Clinton rule book is the one that reads: When in doubt, drive your enemies crazy—then sit back and watch them implode.

What doesn't kill Team Clinton only makes it stronger. Will that be the lesson again? Hillary Clinton has a vast lead over any potential challenger for the Democratic nomination, and 86% of Democrats

are ready to support her, according to a recent NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll. Though her poor handling of the email issue has left party insiders unsure whether she learned anything from her slow-footed and wooden 2008 campaign, insiders don't control elections. Voters do.

The veteran New York political consultant Hank Sheinkopf, a former adviser to Bill Clinton, is unsure. "These stories will reach critical mass and coverage as she gets closer to any announcement date," says Sheinkopf, "and they will damage her because they offer a portrayal of someone who plays fast and loose with rules." But Clinton stories have reached critical mass so many times before. And still, to borrow from Maya Angelou, they rise.

If sticking to their old rule book poses a danger to Hillary Clinton's chances, it probably won't be a matter of scandal fatigue. Instead, it will be the feeling of déjà vu. Can voters look at Clinton as she appeared at her press conference—once more scrambling to explain the unexplainable—and see more future than past? After all, as the Clintons understood so well back at the beginning of their road, winning campaigns are about the future and start in that place called hope. —WITH

REPORTING BY ALEX ALTMAN, MICHAEL DUFFY, ZEKE J. MILLER AND MICHAEL SCHERER/WASHINGTON; SAM FRIZELL/UNITED NATIONS ■



JAN. 7, 2008

After losing the Iowa caucuses to Barack Obama, Hillary teared up in response to a question at a New Hampshire coffee shop about how she kept herself going on the campaign trail. The next day she won the first-in-the-nation primary.



JAN. 23, 2013

In a contentious appearance before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Hillary testified on the deadly attack on U.S. diplomatic outposts in Benghazi.

WORLD

EMPIRE OF FEAR

THE KILLING OF A PRO-DEMOCRACY LEADER IN MOSCOW HAS CAST A CHILL OVER RUSSIAN DISSIDENTS

BY SIMON SHUSTER/MOSCOW

ON A WINDY NIGHT IN EARLY MARCH, A small group of Russia's leading opposition activists got together at a restaurant in Moscow to commiserate over the murder of their friend and mentor Boris Nemtsov and to consider the bleak outlook for the pro-democracy movement he had helped lead. At midnight it would be nine days since Nemtsov was shot dead near the Kremlin, and in the Russian Orthodox tradition, that meant his soul would start its ascent to heaven.

"We have to finish what he started," said Ilya Yashin, another leader of the opposition movement, as he sat hunched over his tea. But the obstacles were visible all around. By chance, the hostess had seated the group beneath a placard that read, AT THIS TABLE SAT V.V. PUTIN—the Russian President they oppose. Staring at it, Yashin mumbled, "You can't escape this guy."

Since Putin annexed the Ukrainian region of Crimea a year ago and in the process provoked a confrontation with the West, the President's influence over Russian politics has never been greater—and his tolerance for dissent has never been lower. His rhetoric and policies have helped create an atmosphere of intimidation in Russia that





Paying respects

*Passersby stop at the spot
where opposition leader Boris
Nemtsov was murdered*

has led dissidents to fear for their lives. Violent attacks against opposition activists in Moscow have grown more frequent in the past year, anti-Western hate speech is now a staple on state TV, and the President has set out to sideline the moderate forces in government.

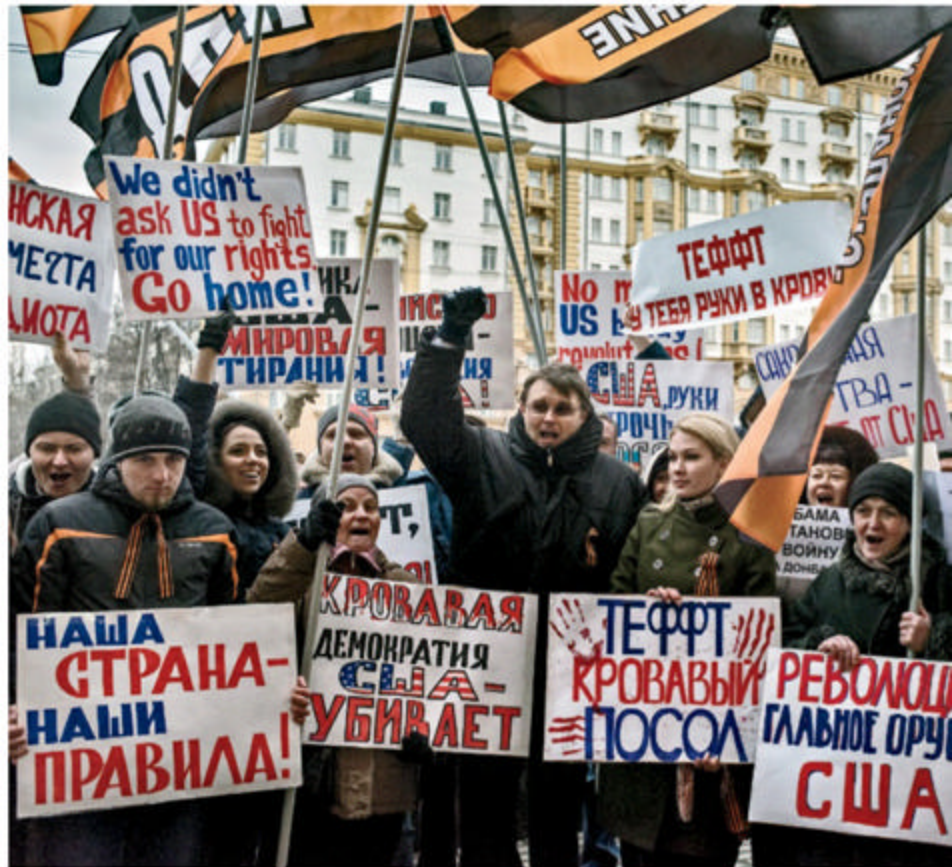
The hostility toward those who criticize the Kremlin is perhaps more intense than at any other time since the fall of the Soviet Union. The assassination of Nemtsov on Feb. 27 drove that reality home, further intimidating those few Russians who publicly challenge Putin. Making life harder for them is the broad support the President enjoys, especially among the parts of the electorate that see him as a patriotic wartime leader.

In a speech in December, Putin said that within Russia's opposition movement there are those "who are used as an instrument to push foreign interests," taking a jab at the Western interlopers that Russians are now encouraged to see around every corner. Putin's loaded language—he has even referred to the existence of a corps of "national traitors"—functions as a green light for an ongoing crackdown on dissent.

On Russian state TV, this campaign has been cast as part of a national revival—and it appears to be working. The President's approval ratings have reached record highs of over 80%, while ill will toward the U.S. and its European allies has grown more widespread than at any other point in more than a quarter-century. Surveys conducted in January by the Levada Center, an independent Russian polling organization, found that 81% of respondents had negative feelings toward the U.S. and 71% toward the E.U. Only two years ago, in March 2013, antipathy toward both the U.S. and the E.U. was at about 25%.

"We now live against the background of the enemies projected onto our television screens," says Lev Gudkov, director of the Levada Center. "This creates a kind of mass aggression, which the state can channel quite effectively."

Even activists who focus on more narrow issues have felt the force of that aggression. Maria Baronova, a campaigner for the rights of political prisoners in Russia, says the political temperature has reached a kind of boiling point. "What used to cause arguments now provokes threats



and violence," she says. "This doesn't feel like some spontaneous groundswell. It's coming from the top."

The Secret War

THE CAUSE OF RUSSIA'S DEEPENING POLITICAL hysteria is, above all, its military conflict with Ukraine. The quick and bloodless annexation of Crimea last spring exhilarated millions of Russians and the ruling elite. "For the first time in its recent history, Russia stopped watching from the sidelines and began to act," says an official from the Russian Foreign Ministry, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "We started making moves."

Russia's subsequent moves against eastern Ukraine, however, have come at a higher cost. Moscow was forced to send regular troops to aid its proxy militias—all while denying that any invasion of Ukraine had occurred. Journalists and Western observers documented the presence of Russian

troops on Ukraine's battlefields and young Russian soldiers began coming home in coffins—even as Putin continued to deny that Russia was fighting a war at all.

Nemtsov had set out to expose this fabrication. The day before his murder, he burst into the office of his assistant, Olga Shorina, with news of a report he was planning to publish under the title "Putin and the War." Concerned that the room was under surveillance, Nemtsov grabbed a sheet of paper and scrawled a message to Shorina: A group of Russian paratroopers had contacted him, claiming that 17 men from their base had been killed while fighting in Ukraine and that the state was refusing to compensate the soldiers' families. "But so far they are afraid to talk," Nemtsov wrote in the note, which Shorina showed to *TIME* about a week after the opposition leader's death. "He was trying to convince them to go public," she says of the paratroopers.



Counterrally
Evgeny
Fyodorov,
a pro-Putin
lawmaker,
leads an
anti-Western
protest
outside the
U.S. embassy

Nemtsov knew his plan was risky. A group of thugs had already attacked several journalists in August while they were trying to film the fresh graves of Russian paratroopers in the western region of Pskov, where they had been sent from Ukraine for burial. Later that month, a local lawmaker named Lev Shlosberg was severely beaten in Pskov while investigating the deployment of those troops. “The state needs to prevent society from learning the scale of the losses and considering the costs of this war,” he tells TIME.

Opinion polls suggest that Putin would risk a public backlash if he were to own up to those losses. As the conflict in eastern Ukraine has claimed more than 6,000 lives in total over the past year, the number of Russians who say they would support Putin in an all-out war with Ukraine has dropped to 44% as of February, down from 74% last spring, according to the Levada Center’s surveys.

Such data may have prompted the state to ramp up its propaganda war against Ukraine and the West, as it sought to galvanize the core of Putin loyalists who are prepared—even eager—for a drawn-out military confrontation. “There are many of these groups, half bandits, half nationalists, who support Putin, who like the aggression, who like the empire supposedly rising from its knees,” says Mikhail Kasyanov, who served as Russia’s Prime Minister from 2000 to 2004, during Putin’s first term as President, but went on to help Nemtsov in leading the opposition. “They are ready to tighten their belts,” he adds, “to kill if necessary, to settle scores.”

The political violence appears to have continued since Nemtsov’s murder. In the early hours of March 5, 36-year-old anti-war activist Alexei Semyonov was walking home in northern Moscow when two men came up behind him and hit him in the head with a baseball bat. A few days later, in the neurological-trauma ward of a Moscow hospital, Semyonov said he did not know who had attacked him, but he believed the beating was likely in retaliation for his wearing a ribbon in the national colors of Ukraine, yellow and blue.

To Semyonov the ribbon is a statement of support for another nation’s right to independence. To some people in Russia such symbols are the marks of a traitor. “That is the atmosphere we’re living in,” he said, the bandage around his head still stiff with blood. “It’s no longer about debate or even shouting. People are ready to kill each other now.” Police have made no arrests in the case.

But despite the risks, Ilya Yashin plans to finish the report that his mentor began compiling on Ukraine. “We have to expose the lies that Putin tells,” Yashin said at the restaurant, still sitting beneath the placard with the President’s name.

As his voice grew louder, the diners at the neighboring table began to stare and shift in their seats at such slanderous talk. For a moment it looked as if a fight might break out. But Yashin refused to lower his voice.

In Mourning

ON MARCH 1, LITTLE MORE THAN A DAY after Nemtsov’s murder, Russia’s liberal activists held a march in Moscow in his honor. The rally attracted some 50,000 people,

a major turnout in Russia’s cowed political culture. They carried portraits of Nemtsov and banners reading, I AM NOT AFRAID. But the mood belied those words, and the crowds quietly dispersed after walking the route agreed on with the authorities.

While the rally was front-page news in the West, the Kremlin-controlled media ensured that most Russians saw little of this rare outpouring of dissent. Early last year, Russia’s only independent news channel, TV Dozhd, was dropped by most cable providers and later evicted from its studios, forcing it to cut its staff by half as its audience shrank by about 80%. Thanks to a recent law, state regulators have been able to block websites without a court order, so a perusal of the news in Russia often means running into error messages: “Access to the requested resource has been blocked by the decision of public authorities.”

Russia’s most famous anticorruption activist, Alexei Navalny, was meanwhile given a suspended sentence of 3½ years in December after being convicted of embezzlement in a trial that human-rights groups have dismissed as a sham. On March 6, after Navalny finished one of his routine stints in jail, this time for handing out leaflets in the Moscow subway, he told reporters, “There will be no letup in our efforts. We will give up nothing.”

But neither will the Kremlin loyalists, whose invective seems to be getting only harsher. Hardly a week after Nemtsov’s murder, Evgeny Fyodorov, a prominent lawmaker in Putin’s political party, assembled a group of demonstrators outside the U.S. embassy in Moscow to condemn Nemtsov and his allies as puppets of Western influence.

“He is a direct communicator with the U.S.A.,” Fyodorov said, speaking with scorn as if Nemtsov were still alive. Then the few dozen demonstrators began a chant about Nemtsov and his fellow dissidents: “Purge! Purge! Purge!”

It was clear from the surprised faces of passersby that for many in Russia the word *purge* is still shocking; the Soviet purges sent millions of their countrymen to die in Siberia’s prison camps. But the spirit of those dark times—if not yet the purges Fyodorov demands—is creeping back into Russian life. ■

SPORTS

A BET WORTH MAKING

There is no reason it should be illegal to put \$10 on the home team. The case for sports gambling in America

BY SEAN GREGORY/
LAS VEGAS





High stakes At over 30,000 sq. ft., Westgate Las Vegas SuperBook is the U.S.'s largest general sports-betting venue. Being there can feel like watching a game in an arena

Photographs by Jesse Chehak for TIME

ON A RECENT SATURDAY AFTERNOON, I settle into a plush leather couch at a burger joint inside Las Vegas' new SLS Hotel & Casino with a cold beer and a crumpled ticket in my right hand. Prince is playing on the speakers and gourmet pub fare like ahi tuna burgers sits on the tables. I could be in any upscale sports bar, save for that piece of paper, which says that since I bet \$100 on the University of Arkansas men's basketball team, I will win \$1,000 if the Razorbacks can somehow hand the Kentucky Wildcats their first loss of this college basketball season.

What's so wrong with this picture? Nothing. But for the privilege of parting with \$100 because Kentucky won in a rout, I had no choice but to travel to Nevada, the only state in America that allows full-on sports betting. Why should I have to fly thousands of miles to legally make a stupid decision?

The question is especially puzzling these days since gamblers in every corner of the country are seeing lots of action anyway. From March 17 to April 6, for example, almost \$2.5 billion will illegally change hands in the U.S. This three-week college basketball bonanza, March Madness, is a frenzy of illicit gambling. But that's just a fraction of the total amount won and lost under the table.

An estimated \$140 billion per year is illegally wagered on sports in the U.S., according to the American Gaming Association (AGA). And yet at a moment when states across the country have relaxed gambling prohibitions and built hundreds of new casinos, a 1992 federal law bars sports betting everywhere except Nevada, Delaware, Oregon and Montana, states that allowed legal sports gambling prior to the law's passage. (Today Delaware allows only certain types of bets on NFL games, and Montana offers state-licensed fantasy football and NASCAR games, while Oregon no longer has a sports-betting lottery.)

It's time for that to change. Putting down \$100 on the home team should no longer be illegal. Like drinking alcohol, gambling on sports is a socially acceptable behavior in moderation and can be a revenue source for cash-strapped municipalities. Currently, all that money is going to bookies and offshore websites. America is leaving millions on the table and not doing anything about the acknowledged downsides of gambling.

Plenty of other nations realize this. According to Global Betting & Gaming Consultants, 105 countries—including places where major U.S. professional sports teams play regular-season games—permit betting. The NFL, which actively opposes the further legalization of sports gambling, plays games in London, where storefront betting parlors dot the streets like Starbucks. And it's widely believed that gambling, which includes not just calls to the local bookie but also fantasy sports and office pools, can boost fan engagement and the popularity of sports leagues.

America's major pro sports leagues have long argued that gambling risks creating incentives for athletes to fix games, but recent comments from two commissioners are indicative of a broader shift in thinking. Although baseball's official position against legalized gambling hasn't changed, new MLB commissioner Rob Manfred tells *TIME* it is "incumbent" on him to revisit the issue with owners.

NBA commissioner Adam Silver has gone further, ending the league's opposition to legalized pro sports gambling. Silver says his view evolved after seeing how European soccer fans stayed invested in games as they placed in-game wagers on their smartphones. "It's part of the culture in Europe to bet on sporting events. Of course, it's legal and regulated," Silver tells *TIME*. "It's part of the culture in the United States to bet on sporting events." He adds, laughing, "It just happens to be illegal."

A Flawed Law

THE U.S.'S CURRENT PROHIBITION ON LEGAL sports gambling dates to 1992, when Congress passed the Professional and Amateur Sports Protection Act (PASPA), outlawing sports gambling in 46 states. Given how more serious off-field issues, like domestic violence, have threatened to derail our enjoyment of sports, the arguments for PASPA now sound hopelessly quaint. "There is no greater threat to an athlete's personal sense of accomplishment than state-legalized sports gambling," former NFL star Mike Singletary told a Senate subcommittee in 1991. At the hearings, supporters of the law wore buttons with such slogans as DON'T GAMBLE WITH OUR CHILDREN'S HEROES.

For a law designed to limit sports betting, PASPA has failed miserably. According to UNLV's Center for Gaming Research, Nevada's legal sports-betting market has

more than doubled since PASPA's passage, from \$1.8 billion to \$3.9 billion. While it's not possible to accurately quantify the illegal market in the U.S., the AGA, a trade group that believes that current sports-gambling law is flawed, says it has been growing, from an estimated \$80 billion in 1999 to \$140 billion in 2014.

Such trends were supposed to ruin sports. "The spread of legalized sports gambling would change forever—and for the worse—what our games stand for and the way they are perceived," former NFL commissioner Paul Tagliabue said in 1991. Yet while sports betting—legal and not—has skyrocketed, teams have only become more valuable. In 1991 the average NFL franchise was worth \$125 million. Today, according to *Forbes*, an average team is valued at \$1.43 billion.

Fears about game-fixing haven't been borne out either. "There is absolutely no evidence that legalizing gambling leads to increased match fixing," says Sean Patrick Griffin, a criminal-justice professor at the Citadel and the author of *Gaming the Game*, a book about former NBA referee Tim Donaghy, who pleaded guilty to passing inside information to illegal bettors.

Silver, for one, believes that gambling regulation could be a check on fixing. "Number one, I support it to protect the integrity of the game," he says. "If we continue to see massive amounts of underground betting at our games, at a volume that we know—based on the information that we have—is growing rapidly, that creates more of an opportunity for inappropriate activities." Which makes sense: Why would criminals expose themselves to regulated markets when the underground market is so much larger? Legal sports books have enormous incentive to monitor activity, because it's their money on the hook if fixers win big bets.

Nor does it help that Congress passed a law intended to stop a vice while at the same time essentially giving one state a perpetual monopoly on that vice. "The grandfathering is a true oddity," says Ryan Rodenberg, a sports-gambling-law expert at Florida State University. "I haven't been able to find another law that mimics PASPA."

Perhaps the greatest argument against PASPA is the meteoric rise of fantasy sports. Some 41 million Americans and Canadians played fantasy sports last year, according to the Fantasy Sports Trade Association, and it has become a key way for leagues to grow fan interest (and make



Ante up A gambler checks point spreads at Westgate SuperBook. Nevada handled some \$3.9 billion in legal sports wagers last year

additional revenue). Thanks to a carve-out in the 2006 federal Internet Gambling Prohibition and Enforcement Act, fantasy sports are considered a game of skill. But in spirit, playing fantasy and wagering on a game are essentially the same: you win or lose based on the unpredictable outcomes of sports.

Silver's predecessor, former NBA commissioner David Stern, warned as recently as 2012 about legalized gambling creating so-called point-spread fans who leave the arena frowning because their favorite team won but didn't cover the spread. His successor has a more pragmatic view. "If our main concern was that we only want fans rooting for our team to win, then we shouldn't be in the fantasy sports business," says Silver. In November, the NBA acquired an equity stake in the fantasy site FanDuel, which paid out more than \$560 million in winnings in 2014. "In a perfect world, sure, I want a Nets fan to go to a game and only be satisfied based on the final score," says Silver. "But that's not realistic."

The ticketing market offers a blueprint.

Ticket scalpers, like gamblers, were once the bad guys. But in the past decade, sports teams have partnered with legit companies like StubHub, making it aboveboard to resell a ticket for profit. "There was such resistance to the secondary market," says Jeanie Buss, president and part owner of the Los Angeles Lakers. "And instead it's been something that's been good to our fans, it's been good for business, it's created jobs. And those companies pay taxes." Bringing sports gambling out of the shadows could create similar benefits.

Risks and Rewards

EVEN SOME PASPA PROponents recognize that the current rules are a relic of the pre-Internet era. "If I were there, I would certainly look at it again," says Dennis DeConcini, who introduced PASPA as a U.S. Senator from Arizona. "Times change, with the Internet and what have you." Would he fix it? "I could be convinced," he says.

In January, Arizona Senator John McCain, DeConcini's former colleague, said Congress should hold hearings on revisit-

ing PASPA. Meanwhile, legislation is pending in five states that would legalize sports gambling. But it's a fight in New Jersey that may be the first true test of the law. In October, Governor Chris Christie signed a bill legalizing sports gambling at the state's casinos and racetracks. Major U.S. pro sports leagues and the NCAA sued to block the measure, and an appellate hearing is scheduled for March 17.

New Jersey's rationale is simple. When PASPA became law, Nevada and Atlantic City, N.J., were the only major casino destinations in the nation. Since then, states across the country have turned to gambling—from lotteries to full-fledged casinos—to fill their coffers. Since 1989, 21 states have opened 236 commercial casinos, according to the AGA, while there are now 483 gaming operations on Native American reservations in 29 states.

So why exclude sports? New Jersey thinks sports betting could boost its ailing Atlantic City casinos. Sports books would create service jobs and white collar positions, including ones for lawyers, accountants and regulators.

Any gains from sports gambling undoubtedly come with potential costs. Gambling addiction is a recognized psychological disorder. Yet the National Council on Problem Gambling, the country's largest advocacy organization for betting addicts, takes a neutral position on legalization. "We would just hope that if sports gambling was more widely legalized, some of the profits would go toward getting help for people who needed it," says executive director Keith Whyte.

One thing is certain: there will be plenty of profits. In Vegas, after losing my first bet of the day, I walk to the 30,000 sq. ft. (2,800 sq m) Westgate Las Vegas SuperBook, the largest sports-betting venue in town. Hundreds of seats face dozens of big screens, and when games come down to the wire, the crowd goes berserk. It's like watching a game in an arena.

Believing I've learned my lesson, I place a few smaller bets: \$20 on Syracuse, which is trailing Duke by nine at halftime, to lose by four points or less, and another Jackson on the Dallas Mavericks, at home, to cover the eight-point spread against the bum Brooklyn Nets. And another \$40 gone. The Dukies crush Syracuse. The Nets win by 10. Hey, just because something is legal doesn't mean you have to be dumb enough to do it. —WITH REPORTING BY ALEX ROGERS/WASHINGTON ■

SOCIETY

THE JOY OF LESS

AMERICANS HAVE MORE POSSESSIONS
THAN ANY SOCIETY IN HISTORY. CAN
WE FINALLY TAKE CONTROL OF THEM?

BY JOSH SANBURN



◀ **STUFFED**

Three-quarters of
garages surveyed in
one study were so
full, homeowners
couldn't park their
cars inside



WHEN THE AMAZON PACKAGES ARRIVE AT HER DOOR, DANA HARVEY EXPERIENCES ONE OF TWO FEELINGS: ECSTASY OR NAUSEA. HARVEY, 54, IS A FAMILY THERAPIST IN LOS ANGELES WHO ALSO PRACTICES ANOTHER KIND OF THERAPY—RETAIL.

She readily admits to indulging in those fleeting moments of joy that come from purchasing. But Harvey also realized the moments were piling up all around her. Her 8-ft.-long pine dining table soon disappeared under mountains of clothes, purses and books. She began making excuses about why her house was a wreck. Eventually she stopped having friends over. She was too embarrassed.

Last year, Harvey hired a professional organizer to help her get her things in order and curb her spending. Together, they threw out or donated bags and bags of shoes, scarves, jewelry, hats, appliances, stuffed animals and unused makeup. Some items still had their tags attached. Today, more often than not, Harvey can find a place for the possessions she decided to keep. She often includes “Clear 10 Things” on her daily to-do list. Her home is less cluttered. Her friends stop by more. Her dining table is a table again. But as spring arrives, she still feels the pull of her iPad, the seasonal clothes and deals just waiting for her online.

For middle-class Americans, it’s never been easier to feel consumed by consumption. Despite the recession, despite a brief interlude when savings rates shot up and credit-card debt went down, Americans arguably have more stuff now than any society in history. Children in the U.S. make up 3.1% of the world’s kid population, but U.S. families buy more than 40% of the toys purchased globally. The rise of wholesalers and warehouse supermarkets has packed our pantries and refrigerators with bulk items that often overflow into a second fridge. One-click shopping and same-day delivery have driven purchasing to another level altogether, making conspicuous consumption almost too easy.

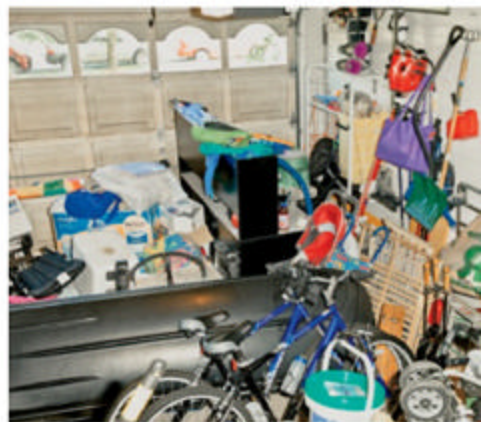
Our stuff has taken over. Most household moves outside the U.S. weigh from 2,500 lb. to 7,500 lb. (1,110 kg to 3,400 kg).

The average weight of a move in the U.S. is 8,000 lb. (3,600 kg), the weight of a fully grown hippo. An entire industry has emerged to house our extra belongings—self-storage, a \$24 billion business so large that every American could fit inside its units simultaneously.

It would be one thing if all our possessions were making us happier, but the opposite seems to be occurring. At least one study shows that a home with too much stuff can actually lead to higher levels of anxiety. “These objects that we bring in the house are not inert,” says UCLA anthropologist Elinor Ochs, who led a decade-long study on hyperacquisition. “They have consequences.”

After the Great Recession, many Americans held up a mirror to their lives, looking for what truly mattered. Some downsized, selling what their smaller homes could no longer hold. Others took advantage of a sharing economy that changed the very idea of ownership. Our world since then has only gotten more complicated, more robust, more overwhelming. We’re bombarded almost minute-by-minute with too much of everything: too much information, too much television, too much email, too much social media, too many apps for too many problems from being too connected. Home is the place to silence the white noise, where the world outside can seem a bit less complicated if inside there’s a sense of simplicity and order.

The notion that our lives should have some semblance of serenity seems to be taking hold. A new economy is growing around the people who take out all the stuff we’re still bringing into our homes. Junk-hauling companies are booming. Professional organizers—who see their biggest spikes in business this time of year as the holidays fade and spring cleaning awaits—are thriving. And a quirky,



almost mystical book by 30-year-old Japanese “cleaning consultant” Marie Kondo called *The Life-Changing Magic of Tidying Up* has been an unlikely *New York Times* best seller since February. Kondo’s simple philosophy—more self-help than home improvement—urges readers to keep only the things that spark joy while throwing out the rest. If retail-therapy joy lasts a moment, Kondo’s is meant to last a lifetime. Her name has even become a verb: to Kondo your sock drawer.

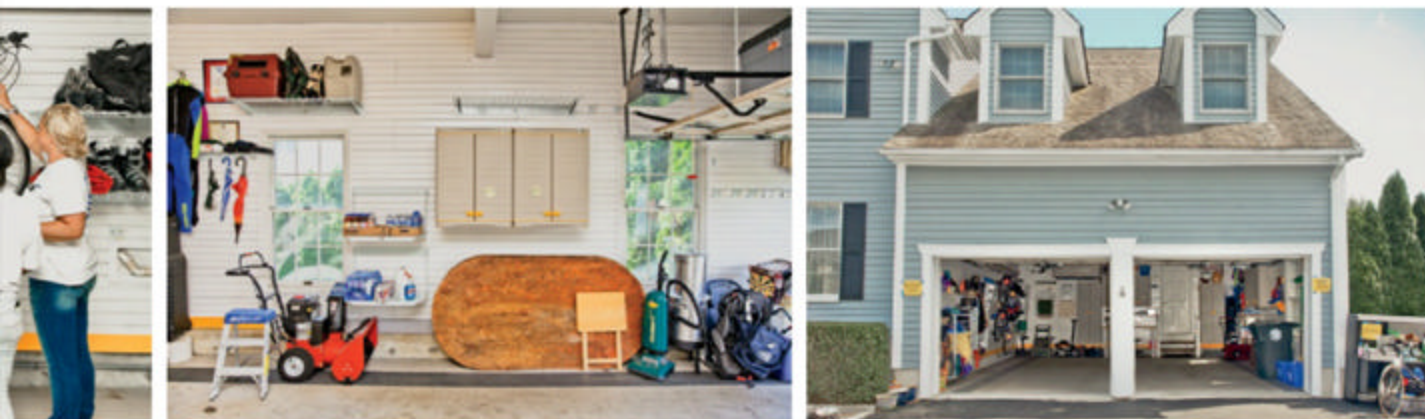
As we reach for help in organizing



OPEN HOUSE Professional organizers increasingly help homeowners decide which possessions are worth saving and which can be purged.



At this house in West Harrison, N.Y., an organizing team lines up everything stored in the home's garage,



allowing owners to visually take stock of their stuff to help them figure out what to keep.

our lives, consumer spending has remained steady. Consumer confidence has slowly increased despite the volatility of the markets. Online shopping is growing. Low-cost retailers are expanding. Consumption and acquisition are a natural part of the human psyche and incontrovertibly a part of the American condition. But with the rise of companies like 1-800-GOT-JUNK, which last year celebrated a milestone \$1 billion in junk removal; the shift of possessions from tangible to digital; and the growing fasci-

nation with creating space through Kon-
doization and other similar philosophies,
the virtues of deacquisition might just be
taking root in the American psyche too.

Consuming as a Way of Life

TODAY, PURCHASING TAKES JUST ONE click. But consumption used to be rare and difficult. A few hundred years ago, Americans had limited options when they needed or wanted something, and the local general store was often the only recourse. But as the Industrial Revolu-

tion took hold, catalogs promised sewing machines, buggies, furniture, eyeglasses, pianos—virtually anything in production that could be sent via post.

In 1872, Montgomery Ward printed what's often considered the first general-merchandise catalog. Two decades later, Sears published its own 500-page version. Both reached millions of Americans. By the turn of the century, department stores like Marshall Field's and Macy's began offering all those products in one physical location. A new consumerism was

emerging, one that offered a uniquely American idea that you could aspire to a different social class through acquiring.

The next wave came after World War II, when a new generation of appliances, furniture and household goods became available. With the advent of plastics, toys became cheap and ubiquitous. Mr. Potato Head sprouted. Lego built its first bricks. Mattel debuted Barbie. Television blinked into American homes, and advertisers and marketers discovered subtle and subconscious ways of sweet-talking consumers. The idea of planned obsolescence became popular after General Motors discovered that if it developed a new automobile model each year, it could trigger people into upgrading when they otherwise wouldn't. Economists, meanwhile, realized that consumption was vital for the expanding nation.

"Our enormously productive economy demands that we make consumption our way of life, that we convert the buying and use of goods into rituals, that we seek our spiritual satisfactions, our ego satisfactions, in consumption," wrote economist Victor Lebow in 1955. "We need things consumed, burned up, worn out, replaced and discarded at an ever increasing pace. We need to have people eat, drink, dress, ride, live, with ever more complicated and, therefore, constantly more expensive consumption."

Lebow's comments, whether encouraging consumption or merely acknowledging it, illustrate that by the 1950s, consuming was paramount. The American Dream didn't just mean a white picket fence and two kids. It meant a big house and a bunch of stuff to fill it.

Our current phase of overconsumption began about 30 years ago, when Americans began committing close to half of their annual expenditures to nonnecessities. It was the beginning of a gradual decline in the cost of consumer goods, the growth of everyday credit-card use and the rise of big-box stores and discount retailers that pushed their way into communities nationwide, forcing down prices and profits for those competing around them.

In the past decade, the cost of cell phones, toys, computers and televisions has plunged, thanks in part to overseas manufacturing. The rise of "fast fashion"—popularized by the growth of clothing outlets like Gap, Forever 21 and American Eagle selling \$10 T-shirts and \$30 jeans—is now driven by low-cost imports H&M and Uniqlo. Today the average U.S. household has about 248 garments and 29 pairs of shoes. It purchases, on average, 64 pieces of clothing and seven pairs



TIDY LIBRARY

Books to fight clutter



The Life-Changing Magic of Tidying Up

By Marie Kondo,
224 pages, 2014

A quasi-spiritual organizational journey, a.k.a. a step-by-step guide to home and life reordering, including the proper way to fold sweaters and socks.



Stuffocation

By James Wallman,
320 pages, 2015

A history of conspicuous consumption that urges readers to spend money on experiences over possessions.



Everything That Remains

By Joshua Fields Millburn and Ryan Nicodemus,
232 pages, 2014

A memoir by two minimalists who rid their lives of everything but the essentials in search of a more meaningful existence.

of shoes annually, at a total cost of \$1,141 a year, or \$16 per item.

"When the question is why do we have so much stuff, one reason is because we can," says Annie Leonard, executive director of the environmental group Greenpeace USA and the creator of *The Story of Stuff*, an animated video about excessive consumerism. "For a huge percentage of this country, there is no longer an economic obstacle to having the illusion of luxury. It's just that this stuff is so cheap."

If there's a fourth wave of overconsumption, it's led by Amazon. Thanks to the growth of online shopping and quick-purchase tools like "1-Click Ordering," unnecessary spending is almost effortless. When stores were the only places to buy something, there were several points at which shoppers could stop and ask themselves, Do I need this? What will I do with it? Where will it live when I bring it home? As online shopping outpaces brick-and-mortar growth, many of those barriers to buying no longer exist.

"The ability to purchase and then possess something has accelerated rapidly," says professional organizer Andrew Melten. "It's instantaneous. And if you're not reflective, how do you interrupt yourself?"



Our Inner Squirrel

THE EXTENT TO WHICH ACQUISITION OUTstrips reason isn't quite understandable until you contemplate the behemoth that is self-storage in America. In 2013 the self-storage industry raked in \$24 billion in revenue, more than twice as much as the NFL. The 48,500 storage facilities nationwide—compared with only 10,000 outside the U.S.—could fill three Manhattans, and they outnumber all the McDonald's, Wendy's, Burger Kings and Starbucks in the U.S. put together.

The industry began in the late 1960s as the Greatest Generation began retiring. Many of them migrated from the East Coast to warmer climates down South and on the West Coast, and as they relocated to smaller places, they needed somewhere to put all the things they'd accumulated.

In the early 1970s, Public Storage began in Southern California; today it is the largest self-storage company in the U.S. and has more than 2,200 facilities. On average, people rent a space for about eight months—but they often turn up thinking they'll rent one for half the time. "People come in and say, 'I'm only going to be here three, four months,' and they're here for a year or two," says CEO Ron Havner.

◀ TOYS ARE US

U.S. children make up just 3.1% of the global kid population, but American families buy 40% of the world's toys

About 87% of all storage units nationwide are currently rented, and while self-storage is certainly used by urban dwellers crunched for space, two-thirds of users own a garage, almost half have an attic, and a third have a basement.

For the possessions still in our homes, there are professional organizers. The National Association of Professional Organizers (NAPO), launched in 1983 by a small group of women in Los Angeles, now boasts 4,000 members who go into homes, help owners figure out what's worth keeping and push them to purge the rest. An entire sector of "senior move managers" has grown to help retiring Baby Boomers downsize as they move into smaller places but don't know how to deal with a lifetime's worth of stuff. Today, that industry's national association includes close to 850 member companies.

There are many economic and cultural factors that lead us to buy, but there are fundamental evolutionary drivers for why we acquire but then can't let go. Call it our Inner Squirrel.

"You can imagine at one point in time all you needed was some seeds to get by and a safe nesting site," says University of Michigan psychology professor Stephanie Preston, who studies our acquisition habits. "But the evolution of tools introduced 'stuff' that you wanted to save, like that perfect rock hammer that you made or this flint that took you hours to cleave just right. So then you have to carry these items with you. Over time, this problem starts to explode, and before you know it, you have a garage full of stuff."

In studies, Preston has primed people to feel socially rejected and then gauged how likely they were to acquire. The result: They took more stuff after feeling snubbed and were even inclined to select more utilitarian items like backpacks, flashlights and toilet paper. "Exactly what you think a Boy Scout is supposed to bring when he goes out into the woods by himself," she says.

Preston theorizes that humans expect to have support from fellow humans, and when that's ripped away, we become more selfish, and our survival instincts kick in. Similarly, she believes the more anxious we are, the more we're inclined to take, take, take.

"If you have this 'When resources are

scarce, then you should stockpile' train of thought, then being anxious in an ecological context would be like a bodily signal that the environment isn't safe or secure or predictable," she says. "Feeling anxious is associated with uncertainty, and historically that was a sign that you might not have access to resources and you better shore them up."

Today, about 1 in 6 Americans suffers from an anxiety disorder for a variety of reasons, something that appears to be not only a cause of our stuffocation but also an effect. To alleviate feelings of anxiety, many of us shop, an act that has been shown to release dopamine in the brain, giving us a temporary feeling of euphoria. It's a sensation that we want to keep reliving, a sensation that can lead to overconsumption. But those anxious feelings can all come creeping back again once we get home and have to deal with all the stuff we've already bought.

In the UCLA study led by Ochs, which analyzed 32 Los Angeles families, when the mothers discussed their messiest rooms—the ones filled with all the things meant to make life for them and their families better, easier and happier—the opposite seemed to occur. Their levels of cortisol, a stress hormone, spiked. "Bringing all these objects into the house has health effects," says Ochs. "You work really hard. You buy things that you like and you want to have in your house. You buy toys for your kids. You go to Costco. And these things are piling up in the house. It gets out of hand. It's very difficult to manage having so many objects in the house."

Our desire to hang on to the things we buy may also be a holdover from an era when times were tougher. Gideon Fountain, a real estate agent in Greenwich, Conn., who recently hired a professional organizer, says his Depression-era parents often told him: Use it up, wear it out, make it do or do without. That mind-set has stayed with him even through boom times, contributing to his desire to hold on to things when he otherwise wouldn't.

It doesn't help that our Inner Squirrel is also sentimental. Think about something you hold dear—a baseball signed by Babe Ruth, for example. At one point, it was just a baseball like every other baseball. But once the Yankee slugger signed it, it took on something that went beyond its physical properties.

"It's a form of superstitious thinking," says Randy Frost, a Smith College psychology professor who studies hoarding and our relationship with our possessions. "This arrangement where these objects have

meaning about your past, or about a past that you get connected to, are important components of why people save things.”

Frost argues that one of the reasons we can't let go is that possessions often elicit visceral memories of a certain time and place. Movie stubs from a first date. A postcard from a trip. And studies show that it gets harder for us to purge as we get older—not just because it's more difficult to deal with objects in old age.

“All of this buying is a way to really forestall, transcend, pretend that we're not going to end,” says psychologist April Lane Benson, who has studied consumerism and überacquiring for decades. “It will endure and, by extension, so will I.”

Getting to Less

BACK IN 2001, WHEN THE UCLA team began its study, they visited a house—the first one they analyzed—with 2,260 visible possessions in just three rooms. One family's office included 2,337 visible nonpaper objects. Some families stored as many as 650 boxes, bins and other items in their garage, a space so crowded that 75% of the families couldn't park their cars inside.

“What are we going to look like when all our houses are smashed and flattened and somebody else is digging us up?” says UCLA's Ochs. “What will we look like?” But Ochs adds that she believes there's been a decline in hyperconsumption following the Great Recession, “a sense that less is more,” she says.

NAPO President Mary Dykstra-Novess says that professional organizing is seeing growth both in the U.S. and around the world. Organizers took a hit like almost everyone else during the recession, as consumers cut back on discretionary spending, deciding that if they were going to downsize, they would try it on their own. But she believes that young people especially see their parents' excesses and are reconsidering that sort of lifestyle.

“I think Marie is hitting a flash point,” Dykstra-Novess says, referring to Kondo's best-selling book.

In the past decade, 1-800-GOT-JUNK has been one of the country's fastest-growing companies. It got its start in 1989, when founder and CEO Brian Scudamore saw a

guy hauling away people's unwanted stuff in his truck. Hoping it could help pay his way through college, Scudamore spent \$700 on an old pickup and started his own junk business. It has grown from \$7.5 million in revenue in 2002 to \$106 million in 2012. Over the years, Scudamore says, he's seen a gradual shift among his clients away from sheer accumulation.

“The '80s were all about buying stuff,” Scudamore says. “People had to live large and spend all this money. By the '90s, everybody went, O.K., now it's not just about accumulating stuff—it's about changing stuff.” He added that many of his clients ripped out perfectly good appliances just

relocating to urban areas appear more inclined to shed consumerist tendencies, while many older Americans are ditching their things for a life of travel in retirement.

On the extreme end are pockets of minimalists, many of whom are in their 20s and early 30s and have gotten rid of everything but the essentials. The best-known are Joshua Fields Millburn and Ryan Nicodemus, who shed most everything they owned for a life of simplicity in a Montana cabin after making six-figure salaries while still in their 20s. Millburn and Nicodemus, who have written two books about their experiences, both realized that they just weren't happy.

“There seems to be some sort of experiential awakening,” says Thomas Gilovich, a Cornell University psychology professor who has conducted multiple studies showing that experiences, not belongings, are what elicit true feelings of happiness. He argues that our memories of those experiences stick with us, whereas we ultimately adapt and get used to all the things we possess. In Kondo-speak, they stop sparking joy.

Dana Harvey still fights the desire to spend. She's not the only one: low-cost and online spending are strong as the economy slowly recovers. Profit at H&M, for example, jumped 17% in 2014 as the low-cost retailer plans to open 400 new stores. Walmart's online sales grew 30% year-on-year. Holiday spending at Amazon equaled \$30 billion, triggered by the popularity of Amazon Prime, which offers free two-day shipping and special deals and saw mem-

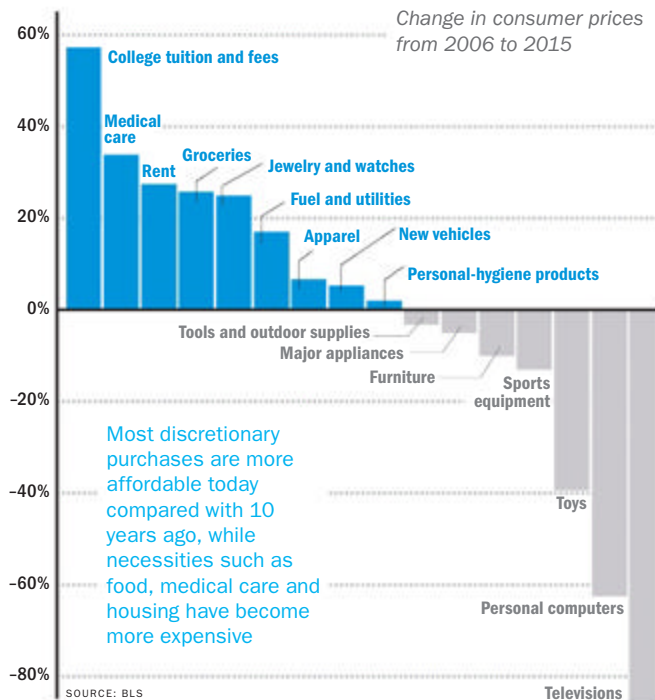
bership grow by 53% last year. Its latest perk: one-hour shipping in Manhattan.

For Harvey, spring clothing lines trigger that pull to buy. But this time, she's aware of it and remembers what it was like before she got organized.

“I have a friend coming over next week, and I can't wait,” she says. “Ordinarily, I would be having severe, severe anxiety about having anybody in my home, and I would make up something and say it's like this because I'm going through spring cleaning, but it wasn't really the truth. The truth of the matter was that I just had stuff everywhere.”

CHEAPER CLUTTER

Change in consumer prices from 2006 to 2015



to replace them for aesthetic reasons, in part because they saw their neighbors doing the same thing.

Today, the mind-set of his customers has changed again. Now they're throwing out all their stuff associated with old analog technologies—CD cases, books, shelving units—in an attempt to transform digitally and simplify their surroundings. Books, music and games can be bought or rented online and stored in the cloud. The sharing economy means that a lawn mower can be borrowed for an afternoon on Craigslist. We stream movies and TV shows rather than buying DVDs. Younger Americans



EARTH HOUR

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THE WEEK
GLEE ENDS AFTER
SIX SEASONS

The Culture



THEATER

Mad Feminist

The final episodes of *Mad Men* don't air until April, but Elisabeth Moss is continuing Peggy Olson's feminist crusade on Broadway. The actor will star opposite *Orange Is the New Black*'s Jason Biggs in a revival of Wendy Wasserstein's

↑
Elisabeth Moss's
Broadway
appearance will
coincide with the
final season of
Mad Men

Pulitzer Prize-winning play *The Heidi Chronicles*, opening March 19 at the Music Box Theatre. The play begins in the 1960s and follows Moss's character through three decades as she grapples with society's expectations of how women ought to achieve happiness. If Peggy posed the question, Can women have it all?, Heidi may help supply an answer.

TELEVISION

The King and I!

The Kardashians are getting some competition as E! royalty. The cable network's first original scripted series, *The Royals*, stars Elizabeth Hurley and Vincent Regan as a fictional British Queen and King struggling to control their wild kids under intense public scrutiny. The show premieres March 15.



MUSIC

Strangers No More

It's been eight years since Modest Mouse released its last album. On March 17, it's finally dropping a new LP, *Strangers to Ourselves*. Front man Isaac Brock has said that one of the album's singles, "The Best Room," was inspired by a UFO sighting—and took him 20 years to write.



TELEVISION

Friday Night Binge

Kyle Chandler is widely remembered as *Friday Night Lights*' honorable Eric Taylor. Now the creators of *Damages*, who recruited the actor for their new show *Bloodline*, streaming on Netflix on March 20, are playing off that. "Coach Taylor was an honest man," Chandler says. "The writers like that because they can manipulate the audience. My character does bad things and people think, 'Cut him a break! He must have a reason.'"

WATCH THE FULL
INTERVIEW AT
time.com/chandler



A Cinderella for Forever

Disney delivers a maid with moxie, undoing the animated error of 1950

By Richard Corliss

WHAT COMES BETWEEN “ONCE UPON A TIME” and “happily ever after”? For most fairy-tale heroines, misery and abuse. The young woman loses her parents and is tormented by a wicked stepmother—a phrase that in these fables is virtually a redundancy—until she meets her Prince Charming. The Cinderella story had been around for ages before Charles Perrault added the fairy godmother and glass slipper for his 1697 *Cendrillon*. So archetypal was the scenario that Kurt Vonnegut, in a 1947 master’s thesis for the University of Chicago, pointed out similarities between Cinderella and the New Testament: the protagonists receive gifts from a high power, then suffer a dreadful ordeal and finally ascend to salvation. Somehow the thesis got rejected, but Vonnegut’s point is piquant, no?


Ella (Lily James) in Disney’s latest *Cinderella* doesn’t undergo a Calvary, but her stepmother Lady Tremaine (Cate Blanchett) makes the girl’s life a living hell, demoting her to charwoman in the service of the lady’s graceless daughters Anastasia (Holliday Grainger) and Drizella (Sophie McShera). When the King (Derek Jacobi) invites every maiden to a ball at which the Prince (Richard Madden) will choose his bride, Ella is left at home, finding transportation in a transformation courtesy not of God the Father but of her fairy godmother (Helena Bonham Carter). Spoiler alert: Ella leaves a glass slipper fit for a princess bride. It sounds like another of Vonnegut’s story archetypes: boy meets girl. Or rather, Prince meets commoner—and it’s love at first sight.

You may wonder why we need a new *Cinderella*, for the legend has been a movie staple since the beginning of the medium. That

prime cinemagician Georges Méliès conjured up a *Cendrillon* in 1899, employing trick photography to turn a rabbit into a footman, rats into coachmen and a pumpkin into a carriage. The central role was played by Mary Pickford, the movies’ first star actress, in 1914, and, in a gender-bending switch, by Jerry Lewis in the 1960 *Cinderfella*. Drew Barrymore brought a feminist spark to *Ever After: A Cinderella Story* in 1998; Anne Hathaway endured ogres and snakes in the 2004 *Ella Enchanted*. A few months ago, in *Into the Woods*, Anna Kendrick’s Cinderella found to her chagrin what happens after “happily ever after.”

The most famous version, Disney’s in 1950, was the studio’s first fully animated feature since *Bambi* eight years earlier, and it rescued the Mouse House from near bankruptcy. Cherished for the hit songs “A Dream Is a Wish Your Heart Makes” and “Bibbidi-Bobbidi-Boo,” it is also the least faithful to its source. About half of the 74-minute movie is devoted to the shenanigans of the heroine’s closest companions, a quartet of talking mice, and their slapstick battles, Tom-and-Jerry-style, with Lady Tremaine’s obnoxious cat, Lucifer. The Prince, who doesn’t appear until late in the action, speaks only a few words. The big drama is whether the mice Jaq and Gus will be able to lug a key up to the attic that imprisons Cinderella. Neither Christ-like nor true to Perrault, this is one Disney feature that looks coarse and charmless today.

Given all these revisionist versions, including its own, Disney wisely decided to make a plain old visionist one. The third recent live-action film spun off from its classic cartoon features—after Tim Burton’s *Alice in Wonderland* and the Angelina Jolie–starring *Maleficent*,



The scullery maid (James) gets a ride to the ball in a magic pumpkin—one of the movie’s many visual treats



from *Sleeping Beauty*—this *Cinderella*, written by Chris Weitz and directed by Kenneth Branagh, plays it straight and pretty. Make that gorgeous: the settings by Dante Ferretti and the gowns by Sandy Powell (each with three Oscar wins) turn the film into a fantasyland that is its own theme park.

Less a remake of the 1950 movie than a correction, this *Cinderella* does without the old standards or new ones. Though it often seems ready to burst into song, it doesn't, instead relying on Patrick Doyle's sumptuous, nonstop score. It also reduces the mice, now CGI critters, to minor characters: Cinderella chats with them, but they don't talk back, content to await their roles as pumpkin-coach horses when the fairy godmother shows up.

Orphans and Stepmothers

HAVING JETTISONED EXTRANEOUS PLOT-lines and music, screenwriter Weitz had the space to address matters that can confound and horrify children on their first excursion with fairy tales: Where do wicked stepmothers come from? And why must so many Disney heroines be orphans? Because at the heart of the stories that the studio turned into its early run of great movies was the child's terror of abandonment and betrayal. Parents who expected innocent movie magic when they took their little ones to *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, *Pinocchio*, *Dumbo* and *Bambi* might have been as shocked as their kids at the atrocities on display: mothers slaughtered or carted off to a madhouse, children offered poisoned

apples or turned into donkeys. That's how Walt Disney taught moral lessons—by scaring the poop out of kids.

Even *Frozen*, the studio's double-princess movie and worldwide smash, got rid of the King and Queen in a shipwreck. At least that was a clean killing. The greater betrayal is the abrupt replacement of loving parents by a vicious surrogate. That was the backstory of *Snow White*, with an implied death spree as lurid as that in Act V of *Hamlet*. But *Snow White* didn't visualize the girl's loss of her parents, as Weitz does here.

At first, Ella (played as a 10-year-old by Eloise Webb) has two beautiful, adoring parents. Mother (Hayley Atwell) soon succumbs to the sort of movie disease that deprives her of life but not luster, leaving the child with the dictum "Have courage and be kind." Father (Ben Chaplin), hoping to give Ella a new mother and two girls her age besides, marries the widow Tremaine, then dies while on a business trip. In short order, we see that Tremaine is no lady; she spits out her stepdaughter's name as a cruel, cackling curse.

Blanch-ificent

LIKE JOLIE IN *MALEFICENT*, BLANCHETT gets top billing here. She earns it by radiating a hauteur that chills as it amuses; the performance is grand without being camp. The movie doesn't rehabilitate Lady T., as *Maleficent* did for its sorceress.

Cinderella Complex The women who kept the fairy-tale femme relevant

She is the prisoner of her personality, parrying Cinderella's aghast "How could you?" with a vitriolic (and poignant) "How could I not?" Behind her sadism is the sad awareness that her stepchild has all the graces her daughters lack. Lady T.'s only good luck is finding an ally in the venal Grand Duke (Stellan Skarsgard), who is as adept at palace intrigue as she is at domestic iniquity. Perhaps these meanies should star in a sour sequel: *Sinned-erella*.

Cate the Blanch-ificent is well matched with James, who plays Lady Rose on *Downton Abbey* as a figure of whim and rebellion who flirts with a black jazzman and later marries a Jewish lord. With her blond hair framing subversive dark eyebrows, James creates a Cinderella both classic and modern, who is the sculptor of her own destiny. She needn't wait for the royal ball to dazzle the Prince; she meets him as an equal, on horseback in the forest (neither knows the other's identity), and persuades him to spare a stag he was hunting. He knows then he must marry the girl, who has been true to her mother's last words: she is courageous and kind.

As capacious and well scrubbed as any of the floors the heroine is obliged to clean, this PG-rated treat approaches the old Disney magic in a ballroom dance of two strangers becoming lovers. It mixes romance and a measure of droll wit without ever evoking the simpy phrase *rom-com*. Doing it the old way has paid off for the studio: 65 years after a "classic" animated feature that missed the mark, Disney finally gets *Cinderella* right. ■

ILENE, 1950

In her first and only film, singer Woods gave voice to the catchy songs in Disney's cartoon

JULIE, 1957

The 21-year-old Andrews starred in Rodgers and Hammerstein's only musical for television

BRANDY, 1997

The pop star headlined a multiracial update of the R&H musical, with Whitney Houston as the fairy godmother

AMY, 2007

Sedaris voiced Cinderella, battling a not-so-charming Prince, in the DreamWorks sequel *Shrek the Third*

ANNA, 2014

Kendrick's Cinderella found life crappy ever after in the film of Sondheim's *Into the Woods*



Music

Heavy Is the Head Drake has become rap's unlikely titan

By Jamieson Cox

ON A QUIET EVENING IN FEBRUARY, THE CANADIAN rapper and singer who records as Drake released an album-length mixtape on iTunes called *If You're Reading This It's Too Late* without promotion or advance warning. Three days later, it had sold over half a million copies and shattered streaming records—ones previously held by Drake. By the beginning of March, he simultaneously held 14 positions on the *Billboard* Hot 100, an accomplishment managed only once before, by the Beatles, at their absolute zenith of popularity in 1964.

Those figures will come as no surprise to people who have followed the ascent of Drake (real name: Aubrey Graham). There's a universality and easy charisma to his music, forged in part by a youth spent navigating the boundaries that separate race, religion and country. His childhood was split between the leafy avenues of midtown Toronto—where he lived with his white, Jewish mother—and summers in Memphis with his father, a black musician. He was a successful actor as a teenager, working on the Canadian teen drama *Degrassi: The Next Generation*, but he recorded music in relative obscurity until 2008, when he was connected to rapper Lil Wayne. They worked together in Houston on the mixtape that would launch Drake's career in earnest, 2009's *So Far Gone*. It followed in the footsteps of Kanye West's groundbreaking *808s and Heartbreak*, an album-length dark night of the soul that plumbed new emotional depths for rappers; Drake infused that sound with the warped, slow vibes of Houston's hip-hop and the cool amorphousness of R&B from the turn of the decade. The result was an artist equally comfortable in the worlds of pop and rap, with an unvarnished quality that endeared him to his audience.

Drake became popular quickly: his debut full-length, 2010's *Thank Me Later*, topped the album charts. The following year's *Take Care* was a baroque, ambitious stab at greatness, with ballads about family and fame slotted beside singles featuring Rihanna and Nicki Minaj. *Nothing Was the Same*, released in 2013, was colder and more sinewy, an examination of the pressures and problems that stem from assuming the throne. *If You're Reading This It's Too Late* will amplify that influence: icy, intense and uncompromising, it's an extreme refinement of the sound Drake and co-producer Noah "40" Shebib have been developing over the past half decade. More than ever, Drake is interested in toughness and retribution—a gradual



↑
With the surprise release of his latest mixtape, Drake has cemented his place on music's A list

shift away from the nice guy who once rapped, "But do I ever come up in discussion/ over double-pump lattes and low-fat muffins?" Here, he's crippled by paranoia and imagined threats; sycophants and enemies lurk in every shadow. Still, the moments of relative joy, like hometown anthem "Know Yourself" and maternal ode "You & the 6," throw off enough heat to melt the songs around them.

If You're Reading This It's Too Late isn't an obviously commercial release—there's nothing like "Hold On, We're Going Home," that delicious piece of dewy pop nougat from *Nothing Was the Same*, on this tape. But much as Beyoncé made dark, moody R&B commercially viable in recent years, Drake is exerting his own gravitational force on the musical world around him. He can shape genres, conquer charts and bend the radio to his liking with songs released in silence. ■

Tuned In

True Detective Reality thriller *The Jinx* upends what cop shows have taught us

By James Poniewozik

THIS KIND OF THING ISN'T SUPPOSED TO happen in real life. Eccentric Robert Durst, scion of a Manhattan real estate dynasty, is being interviewed by filmmaker Andrew Jarecki for HBO's documentary series *The Jinx*, investigating accusations that Durst murdered three people, including his wife, and got away with it. They've just gone over the 2003 trial in which a Texas jury acquitted him of murder, though he admitted killing a man and hacking his body into pieces.

Jarecki takes a break and steps out. The camera keeps rolling. And Durst begins, like a movie supervillain, to monologue.

"I did not knowingly, purposefully lie," Durst whispers to himself. He takes a sip from a cup and repeats it, like an actor running lines between takes. He varies it: "I did not knowingly, purposefully, *intentionally* lie." It's not a confession exactly, but it's chilling anyway, as if Durst were removing a mask, checking it for blemishes before putting it back on. It doesn't look good—as is clear to Durst's lawyer, who hustles in to warn, "They could just hear every word you said."

In a TV cop drama, I'd roll my eyes at the scene. Too perfect. Too convenient. But reality has written a hell of a story for *The Jinx*. The details are delicious. (Durst once lived incognito as a mute woman.) The thesis is provocative. (Did a rich killer buy freedom? Forget it, *Jinx*; it's Chinatown.) And the subject (who contacted Jarecki himself after Jarecki directed a fictional film based on Durst's wife's disappearance) is mesmerizing: his dispassion, his mixture of frankness and elusiveness—and, *brrrr*, those dead eyes, as coal-black as if digitized by CGI for *True Blood*.

You could be forgiven for believing that *The Jinx* was fiction; it packages its material into one of TV's most addictive



Serial, about Syed's murder conviction, was a hit true-crime podcast

Durst suggested the idea of *The Jinx* but soon became its target

stories using the tools and artistry of crime drama. The most obvious analogue is *Serial*, the 2014 podcast that reinvestigated the 1999 murder of Maryland high school student Hae Min Lee, for which her ex-boyfriend, Adnan Syed, was convicted. Parsing the circumstantial evidence, drilling into minutiae, *Serial* cast doubt on the conviction and the certitude of the jury-trial system itself. And it did so, befitting its name, like serial drama, using cliffhangers, strategic reveals and musical cues to heighten emotion and suspense; it even made host Sarah Koenig into a character, as she questioned Syed and wrestled with her doubts.

But *The Jinx* also looks a lot like HBO's dramas. Like *True Detective*, it involves a decades-long mystery, an unreliable interrogation subject and allegations of ghastly crimes involving a powerful family. It even begins, like many HBO series, with haunting credits. The brooding "Fresh Blood" by Eels plays over artful images of bodies falling, a man striking a woman, a sheet being unfurled over a corpse. There's no metaphor here: they're re-enactments of real violence, to real people, recalled by Durst and witnesses. It's aestheticized death, and it feels icky to watch—but it's undeniably effective.

And *The Jinx*'s case is gobsmacking.

In the March 8 episode, Jarecki finds a bombshell: an envelope, from Durst's return address, with the same misspelling ("BEVERLEY HILLS") in apparently the same handwriting as one that tipped off police to the dead body of his friend Susan Berman, in whose 2000 murder Durst was implicated but never charged.

It's the kind of headline *Law & Order* was made to rip. But in an important way, *The Jinx* and *Serial* are antidotes to that kind of cop procedural. There's no guarantee that the wicked will be jailed or the innocent exonerated by the time the credits roll. They emphasize that justice is a complex process, subject to random derailment and manipulation—including by storytellers: the cinematic arsenal these narratives use can make a powerful case in the court of public opinion.

The stories may end up making a real-world difference; Syed's appeal and the Berman murder inquiry have reportedly been reopened. But will we ever know everything? Can we? The one thing these antiprocedurals are most certain about is the slipperiness of certainty.

That, at least, is one belief Durst seems to share. After his lawyer warns him about his hot-mike lapse, he keeps talking. "I didn't tell the whole truth," he says. "Nobody tells the whole truth." ■

Books

Angry Bird. A gorgeous memoir by a woman who trained a goshawk

By Lev Grossman

A GOSHAWK IS A BIRD OF PREY. LARGE-ish—19 to 24 inches—but hard to spot in the wilderness. “Looking for goshawks is like looking for grace,” Helen Macdonald writes in her extraordinary memoir *H Is for Hawk*. “It comes, but not often, and you don’t get to say when or how.”

Macdonald found her goshawk the old-fashioned way: she ordered her online, from a hawk breeder in Northern Ireland. *H Is for Hawk* is Macdonald’s indelible account of her experiences training the bird. Her reasons for undertaking this task are at first a little obscure. She had extensive experience as a falconer, but she’d never trained a goshawk before because they have a bad reputation: moody, sulky, vicious. “They unnerved me,” she writes. “They were things of death and difficulty: spooky, pale-eyed psychopaths that lived and killed in woodland thickets.” But after her father, a news photographer, died suddenly, Macdonald found herself feeling a bit goshawkish herself. She suddenly felt drawn to death and difficulty.

Macdonald’s first sight of her bird, when the breeder lifts her out of the cardboard box she travels in, is one of the most memorable passages I’ve read this year, or for that matter this decade. The heat of the moment is enough to melt grammar:

The air turned syrupy, slow, flecked with dust. The last few seconds before a battle. And with the last bow pulled free, he reached inside, and amidst a whirring, chaotic clatter of wings and feet and talons and a high-pitched twittering and it’s all happening at once, the man pulls an enormous, enormous hawk out of the box and in a strange coincidence of world and deed a great flood of sunlight drenches us and everything is brilliance and fury.

Macdonald took her hawk home, named her Mabel and began the slow,

agonizing process of gaining her trust and habituating her to human company and the feel of a leather fist under her talons. Macdonald spent whole days and nights with her bird, shunning friends, neglecting her career, becoming more hawk than human. Everything about the hawk-trainer dyad is intense: falconry even has its own language, as if it were a foreign country in its own right. “Wings were *sails*, claws *pounces*, tail a *train*,” Macdonald writes. “Hawks don’t wipe their beaks, they *feak*. When they defecate they *mute*. When they shake themselves they *rouse*.” Mabel is described so vividly that she becomes almost physically present on the page, down to the smell of her hawk breath:

“pepper and musk and burned stone.”

Macdonald frames her book in part as a dialogue with a similar memoir, *The Goshawk*, by T.H. White, who’s best known for his Arthurian epic *The Once and Future King*. Macdonald is every bit his equal as a writer (as a falconer she’s much better), and thinking about White is a roundabout way for her to look at her own motivations for training Mabel in the wake of her father’s death, which aren’t simple. “The hawk was everything I wanted to be,” she writes early on. “Solitary, self-possessed, free from grief and numb to the hurts of human life.”

But the bond between hawk and falconer (technically the trainer of a goshawk is an *austringer*) is fraught with paradox, and one is that the austere, aloof goshawk teaches Macdonald how to feel again. “You feel more human,” she writes, “once you have known, even in your imagination, what it is like to be not.” Macdonald is looking for the goshawk within herself, and for her finding that elusive bird and finding grace become one and the same.



A scholar at the University of Cambridge, Macdonald was obsessed with birds of prey as a child. She covered her room with pictures of them and read to her parents from manuals of falconry

Training a goshawk helped Macdonald heal after her father's death



Health

Early Bloomers. Spring brings a rush of nutritious foods at peak flavor

By Mandy Oaklander

HEAVY, STARCHY FOODS KEEP YOU WARM—AND STUFFED—THROUGH WINTER. BUT now spring is arriving, and with it a wave of light and healthy produce hitting grocery stores and farmers' markets in prime season. We asked Deborah Madison, author of *Vegetable Literacy*, for a selection of nutritious foods that will be at their peak flavor in the coming weeks. And if you don't like to eat your greens, she has a tip: "A salad that looks like spring can make you so happy," she says. "That's half the battle."



ARUGULA

This peppery green is sweetest after a frost; a cup has 27% of the recommended daily vitamin K.

EAT IT: "Golden beets with avocado and arugula make a pretty salad," says Madison. "I think I'll make that tonight, actually."



AVOCADO

One avocado has more potassium than a banana, as well as 37% of daily fiber.

EAT IT: "I like it sliced and spread on toast with a squeeze of lemon and some sea salt," Madison says. Extra credit if you use truffle salt.



MEYER LEMONS

A full 31% of daily vitamin C is in the juice of one lemon. Meyers are less acidic than other varieties.

EAT IT: "Use the zest and the juice to make a lemon, shallot and olive oil vinaigrette."



SORREL

Meet the herb that packs 106% of daily vitamin C in every cup. The first leaves sprout in March.

EAT IT: Simply. "Finely shredded sorrel mixed with yogurt is delicious," Madison says.



LOVAGE

It's one of the best sources of an anti-inflammatory compound called quercetin.

EAT IT: Tear into a salad or sip a Bloody Mary through its hollow stem. "It tastes like a cross between parsley and celery leaves," she says.



CHIVES

Chives are among the first plants to pop up postwinter, and just two tablespoons of them have 16% of daily vitamin K.

EAT IT: Madison suggests making a spread of chives with butter, lemon zest, sea salt, pepper and fresh chervil—another early-year herb that tastes just a little bit like licorice.

SWISS CHARD

A cup of boiled chard has 22% of daily iron, plus 716% of daily vitamin K.

EAT IT: "I love it wilted until it's tender and tossed with good butter and a little bit of vinegar," Madison says.



RADISHES

When you start to see radishes at the farmers' market, "to me that's a sure sign of spring," Madison says. A single radish can have 124% of the recommended daily vitamin C—even more if you eat the raw tops too.

EAT IT: Go raw, says Madison. Just slice the radish, chop the tops and toss with good olive oil and lemon juice.



Sweet raisins and tart cranberries.

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I love redheads

Stop, I'm blushing



New Kellogg's Raisin Bran® with Cranberries.

The tongue-teasing taste of tart and sweet, plus an excellent source of fiber and Antioxidant Vitamin E.



Sports



In Defense of One-and-Done U Kentucky cracks the NCAA code

By Sean Gregory

IT'S TIME TO GIVE UNIVERSITY of Kentucky men's basketball coach John Calipari the respect he deserves. That hasn't always been easy. Calipari, who is criticized for skirting regulations, led two schools, UMass and Memphis, to the Final Four, only to have those appearances voided thanks to NCAA rules violations. But as more fans recognize that college sports have become a multibillion-dollar business, it's worth acknowledging the coach who has figured out how to hack the NCAA.

NBA rules require that players be at least 19 years old and a year removed from high school graduation. Thus, star prospects treat college as a one-season stopover, with some dropping out during their spring semester to prepare for the pros. Rather than bemoan the end of the student-athlete ideal—which, in truth, has been dead for

Calipari recruits the game's top freshmen



decades—Calipari simply offers top recruits a straight deal: come for a year, compete for a national championship, and go to the NBA. This setup worked for John Wall, Derrick Rose, Anthony Davis and DeMarcus Cousins: all Calipari “one-and-done” alums, all NBA All-Stars.

But that approach works only if the teams win. Conventional wisdom holds that experience prevails in the NCAA Tournament. Calipari turned that line on its head when he led a freshmen-heavy team to the 2012 championship. This year's tournament, which begins on March 17, offers him another shot. Behind star freshmen Karl-Anthony Towns and Devin Booker, Kentucky finished the regular season undefeated and is a favorite to cut down the nets in Indy on April 6. Should that happen, let's recognize that Coach Cal is the man for this moment—like it or not.

3 Players to Watch During March Madness



BREANNA STEWART

The 6-ft. 4-in. (193 cm) forward could lead UConn to a third straight women's title—and establish herself as an all-time great



KYLE WILTJER

Can Wiltjer, who transferred to Gonzaga after winning a title at Kentucky, help the highly ranked Bulldogs end their string of March failures?



FRANK KAMINSKY

After returning for his senior year, the Tank—the Big Ten Player of the Year—has Wisconsin on a roll



BARACKETOLOGY POTUS the Predictor

ESPN's website saw fans fill out more than 11 million brackets for the 2014 men's NCAA tournament, an all-time high and still just a chunk of the many millions entered in pools around the world. But only President Barack Obama, the nation's basketball fan in chief, has the, um, privilege of filling out his bracket on TV and then having it dissected by a passel of reporters and the legions of other self-styled bracketologists.

So, how has Obama done? A review of his selections since he began in 2008 by FiveThirtyEight.com indicated that the President—despite his triumphs as an electoral underdog—tended to pick far fewer upsets than the average tournament contains. (Though his prediction rate on round-of-64 upsets has been well above average.) Obama showed no particular preference for states that voted for him, although he has a persistent love for the sometimes disappointing Tar Heels of North Carolina, the purple state Obama swung blue in 2008.

Despite his knowledge of the game, the President has picked the correct men's champ only once in his seven tries (North Carolina in 2009). Consider it the presidential endorsement no candidate wants. —JACK DICKEY

Started my Camry.
Rescued a dog.
Searched for the owners.
Uncovered a plot.
Escaped with the evidence.
Took a leap of faith.
Left them all behind.
Kept the dog.

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Prototype shown with options. Production model will vary. ©2014 Toyota Motor Sales, U.S.A., Inc.



Let's
Go
Places

Pop Chart

LOVE IT

▲ Japan has **set up a “ninja council”** in an attempt to boost tourism; its main objective is to generate interest in famous historical figures.

▲ A 1998 *Simpsons* episode came very close to **predicting the mass of the Higgs boson**—14 years before the particle was discovered.



▲ The nonprofit Women on 20s has launched a **campaign to put a woman on the \$20 bill by 2020**. Among its candidates: Susan B. Anthony, Eleanor Roosevelt and Harriet Tubman.

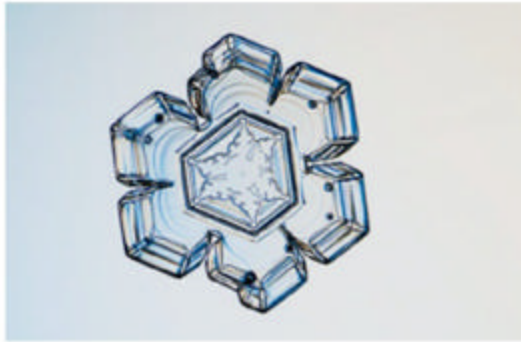
▲ *Juno* scribe Diablo Cody will write a **live-action film based on Mattel's iconic Barbie doll**.



THE DIGITS

\$4,500

Price per night to rent Leonardo DiCaprio's 7,022-sq.-ft. (652 sq m) Palm Springs, Calif., house—which touts a pool, a tennis court and a sunken bar in the living room—while he films *The Revenant* in Canada



THIN ICE No two snowflakes are alike, the saying goes, but photographer Michael Peres shows just how special each can be with the microscopic closeups he posts on Instagram (at @michael_peres). For more on Peres, who was trained as a biologist, visit lightbox.time.com.

QUICK TALK

Elizabeth Hurley

The 49-year-old actor portrays the Queen of England in E!'s new scripted soap opera *The Royals*, premiering March 15.

—DANIEL D'ADDARIO

On *The Royals*, you're a demanding, imperious diva, and your relatives aren't much better. What are your feelings on the real monarchy?

I've always been a big fan. I'm an ambassador for a couple of the Prince of Wales' charities, and I've met him a few times. I've always thought he was the best-dressed man in the United Kingdom, possibly the world. His tailoring is amazing. **Were you nervous he'd be mad if he watched the show?** Not at all. We aren't interpreting anyone [in particular]. I pull on a little bit of how I think Princess Diana might look if she became a Queen of England. But I pull on some Disney villains too. **In America, many people are transfixed by the British royal family because we don't have our own.** Isn't it sad? I bet you'd love one! **Who do you think is closest to royalty among American celebrities?** George Clooney, don't you think? President Clinton at one stage was as near as you got to a King. It's hard, though, because what's so wonderful about our real monarchy is that you don't get to see behind closed doors ever.



ROUNDUP

Great Escapes

In a recent viral video, an octopus named Ink scales his tank at the Seattle Aquarium and appears to very nearly break free. Although aquarium officials deny that the creature was trying to escape, we're not quite sure we believe it. After all, Ink would hardly be the first captive animal to (momentarily) chase freedom.



← 2011

Hiss-teria erupted in New York City after news broke that **A COBRA** had likely escaped from the Bronx Zoo (it was later found hiding in the reptile house), spawning the brilliant parody Twitter account @BronxZoosCobra.



← 2012

CASPER THE PONY AND RAZZI THE ZEBRA, inseparable pals, caught the public's imagination as they trotted through Staten Island, N.Y., after escaping an amateur petting zoo; Razzi was later moved to a New Jersey farm.



TOP MODELS It's been 14 years since *Zoolander* poked fun at the fashion world on the big screen. But on March 10, Ben Stiller and Owen Wilson took to the Maison Valentino runway during Paris Fashion Week to prove that the cheekbones and smoldering stares of fictional supermodels never go out of style—and to promote the comedy's sequel, *Zoolander 2*, which hits theaters Feb. 12, 2016.

VERBATIM

'So apparently Kanye has a Draco fetish.'

TOM FELTON, via Instagram, on Kim Kardashian's new bleached-blond hairstyle; the actor portrayed a similarly coiffed Draco Malfoy in the *Harry Potter* films



Kardashian as herself

Felton as Draco Malfoy



← **2013**
Two months after **RUSTY THE RED PANDA** had arrived at Washington's National Zoo, he went AWOL; after he was discovered running down a street, he was returned, and he went on to sire three cubs.



← **2015**
A pair of **LLAMAS**—one white, one black—made national news in February after they escaped a trailer taking them to animal therapy and ran through the streets of Sun City, Ariz., evading cars and lassos.



← **2015**
This month, a suspect known as **COLIN THE OSTRICH** jumped a fence at an English farm. Police pursued him through a graveyard after he attempted to bite a local's dog. He was soon returned home safely.



LEAVE IT

▼ A New Jersey man tried to sue Applebee's for **burns he got while praying over fajitas**. (The suit was dismissed.)

▼ Per new video footage, Taylor Swift has started **walking backward** to avoid paparazzi shots.



▼ Prairie Farms dairy company has debuted **a line of Peeps-branded milk**, available in flavors like marshmallow and chocolate marshmallow. The taste is "Peep-tastic," according to a Peeps spokesperson.

▼ After a successful crowdfunding campaign, San Francisco-based clothier Betabrand will make **dresses covered in poop emojis**.

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No Cable, No Cry

Life is so much better since I cut the cord



I AM CONSTANTLY LOOKING for new ways to insult people. Not to be mean, but to make myself feel superior. My newest target is “digital hoarders.”

These people are wasting hours editing their online photos, organizing their MP3s, scrolling through old emails, sifting through shows on their DVRs and struggling with which of my columns to save on their hard drive to reread a fourth time. Some even hire organizers to do it, in which “some” is moms in New York City and L.A. I, meanwhile, have rid myself of all digital possessions. My phone and computer are a Zen retreat, assuming there are Zen retreats where you meditate by watching porn and Googling yourself a lot.

I use the cloud as my library, taking out songs on Spotify and podcasts on Stitcher. Thanks to the improvements of search and the cheapness of server storage, I can navigate thousands of piled-up emails and photos I am unaware are even there. But my greatest digital cleanse occurred three weeks ago, when I got rid of cable TV.

Which I didn’t plan on. In fact, I called Time Warner Cable two months before I moved in order to transfer my service. Let me explain that in general, I get along great with most companies. Sure, there are a few I hate: whoever makes Ku Klux Klan hoods; Hobby Lobby for refusing to pay for some types of birth control for their scrapbook-loving employees, who are exactly the kind of women who want to have anonymous one-night stands with me; Chick-fil-A for making delicious sandwiches at a busy corner in West Hollywood where a gay friend is most likely to catch me; and some tech company named Superfish, though no matter how many articles I read about it, I have no idea what it does.

But I really, really, really hate Time Warner Cable.

They have a very conservative customer-service system whose main purpose is to try to prevent you from changing anything in your life. They freaked out about my moving houses more than my 5-year-old son did. They transferred me eight different times, sometimes to departments I’d already spoken with, each time making me repeat my name, address and account number before telling me their department couldn’t help me. This is when I thought of a brilliant Internet startup idea of letting me hire a person in India by the hour to talk to my cable company’s customer-service representative in India.

Three days later, my cell phone rang, and when I picked it up, I was on Time Warner Cable’s hold music. It was the most aggressive thing ever done to me on the telephone, and I have both received an obscene phone call from a man soliciting sex and negotiated with Hollywood publicists.

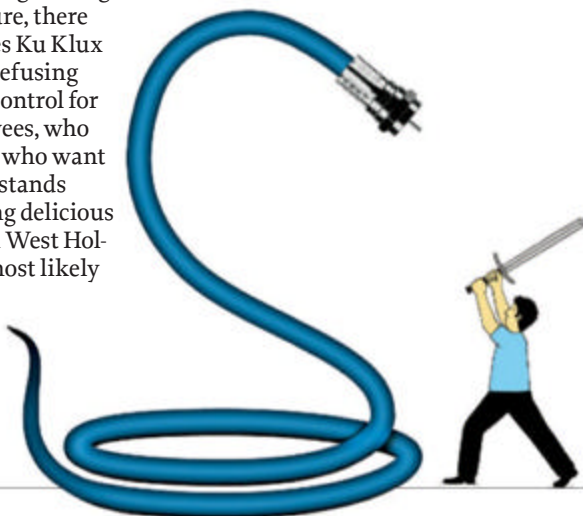
That’s when I decided to cut the cord, getting rid of cable and keeping my Internet service. In return, Time Warner Cable demanded that I return my crappy, three-year-old DVR but was not willing to have a technician who was already coming to my house pick it up. Also, I couldn’t mail it. I had to drive 30 minutes to a Time Warner Cable store, where I signed in at the front and waited to be called, because

people who work at Time Warner Cable stores are as important as doctors.

By the time the Time Warner technician failed to show up at my house and then blamed me for canceling the appointment (even though I never canceled it in the first place), I’d had enough. I ordered Internet and phone service from AT&T. But before I called Time Warner to officially break up with them, I did some practice role-playing, like the CIA does with terrorists. So during the call, as soon as the operator asked why I was canceling my service, I announced, “I am moving to a tent.” She asked if I wanted my phone number transferred by AT&T to that tent. I did. When she started to tell me about a great deal she could score me, I cut her off with: “I have no trust in you, so anything you offer is irrelevant,” which, admittedly, is something I’ve had in the chamber for 20 years, thanks to an old girlfriend. If she continued, I was prepared to yell, “I am so incredibly wealthy that your savings mean absolutely nothing to me.”

Eventually she told me that the ap-pointment I canceled (that I did not cancel) was not rescheduled and was unresolved, so she couldn’t cancel my service and needed to transfer me to another department. I had not prepared for this. I yelled, “I officially declare that I am not a customer anymore and you have to finish it” and hung up. I am still getting Time Warner Cable bills.

What I didn’t expect after all of this was that my TV-watching experience as a cord cutter is not only cheaper but better. My Roku simply finds whatever show I want to watch on Netflix, Amazon, Hulu or a bunch of other services I’ve never heard of that are run by six 25-year-olds in Palo Alto. I can watch anything, anytime, and best of all, none of it is mine. Sure, I’m the only person in the world who paid \$2 to see the final episode of *Two and a Half Men*, but at least that \$2 went to Warner Bros. and not Time Warner Cable. It’s a start.



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10 Questions

In the Army during the Korean War, Bernstein performed for generals and other dignitaries



With the film *Seymour: An Introduction*, actor and novelist **Ethan Hawke** adds ‘documentarian’ to his résumé

From the mid-1950s to the 1970s, Seymour Bernstein was a celebrated pianist, but he quit nearly 40 years ago. Why did you want to direct a film about an 87-year-old musician?

I met him at a dinner table, and he was this guy who played concert halls all over the world and then suddenly stopped. So of course that would be interesting to me: What would happen if I had stopped? What did you gain by stopping? Do you miss it? All that stuff fascinated me.

Is abandoning your performing career tempting?

I think there's a healthy part of anyone who's a professional actor that has a little Greta Garbo in them. You know, if you want it too bad, you have another set of problems.

Which actors turned directors do you admire?

So many of the best directors I've worked with, if they're not actually actors, they're secret actors. They love acting. They wanted to be actors.

You say you struggle with stage fright in *Seymour*. I found that really surprising.

If it surprised you, imagine how I felt. Because when I was younger I had so much confidence, I was never nervous. I didn't know better. I feel that the great bulk of my life is a war with my nervous system.

You have three girls and one

boy, ages 3 to 16. Has fatherhood changed how you think about your work?

There's something exciting about having something that I care about more than I care about acting and performing. When I was younger I didn't have that. Terrible reviews for a play and my whole self-worth went right there with it. Now there's something that gives ballast to the ship.

In *Boyhood*, you play a lousy father. And *Seymour* seems to be a father figure to you.

Does that relationship inspire you as an artist?

Yeah. Even [my novel] *The Hottest State* is largely about a young man's relationship to his father. Looking for mentorship and leadership is a big part of every young man's life. We want to not be at sea, and we want to not be lost.

Your extracurricular activities open you up to charges of pretentiousness. Does that bother you?

I've been accused of being pretentious my whole life, rightfully so.

I encourage young people to be pretentious because—if you have a sense of humor about yourself—it means you're aspiring to something. You have to set goals for yourself, and they might as well be lofty.



You scored successes in scary movies like *Sinister* and *The Purge*. Is it strange that some fans see you only in that light?

I never saw a line between high art and low art. One of my favorite moments was when I was doing [Chekhov's] *Ivanov* in this little 200-seat house in the East Village at the same moment that *Sinister* was opening.

Is it hard to balance being commercially viable with passion projects?

Most people have to find a way to balance what they really love with what the world will pay them to do, right? My friend Richard Linklater, I don't think he's ever compromised. As an actor, I've had to find ways to make a living and still be in touch with what I love.

You've been nominated for four Oscars. Do you write out a speech?

It always annoys me when people don't. If you're nominated, there's a 1-in-5 chance that you might have to talk. It's such a bore to listen to “I should have planned a speech.”

That said, I totally *didn't* have a speech planned this year because I knew exactly who was going to win my prize.

—DANIEL D'ADDARIO

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When making by hand
means making a mess,
your hands could use a hand.

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